



18-5
57

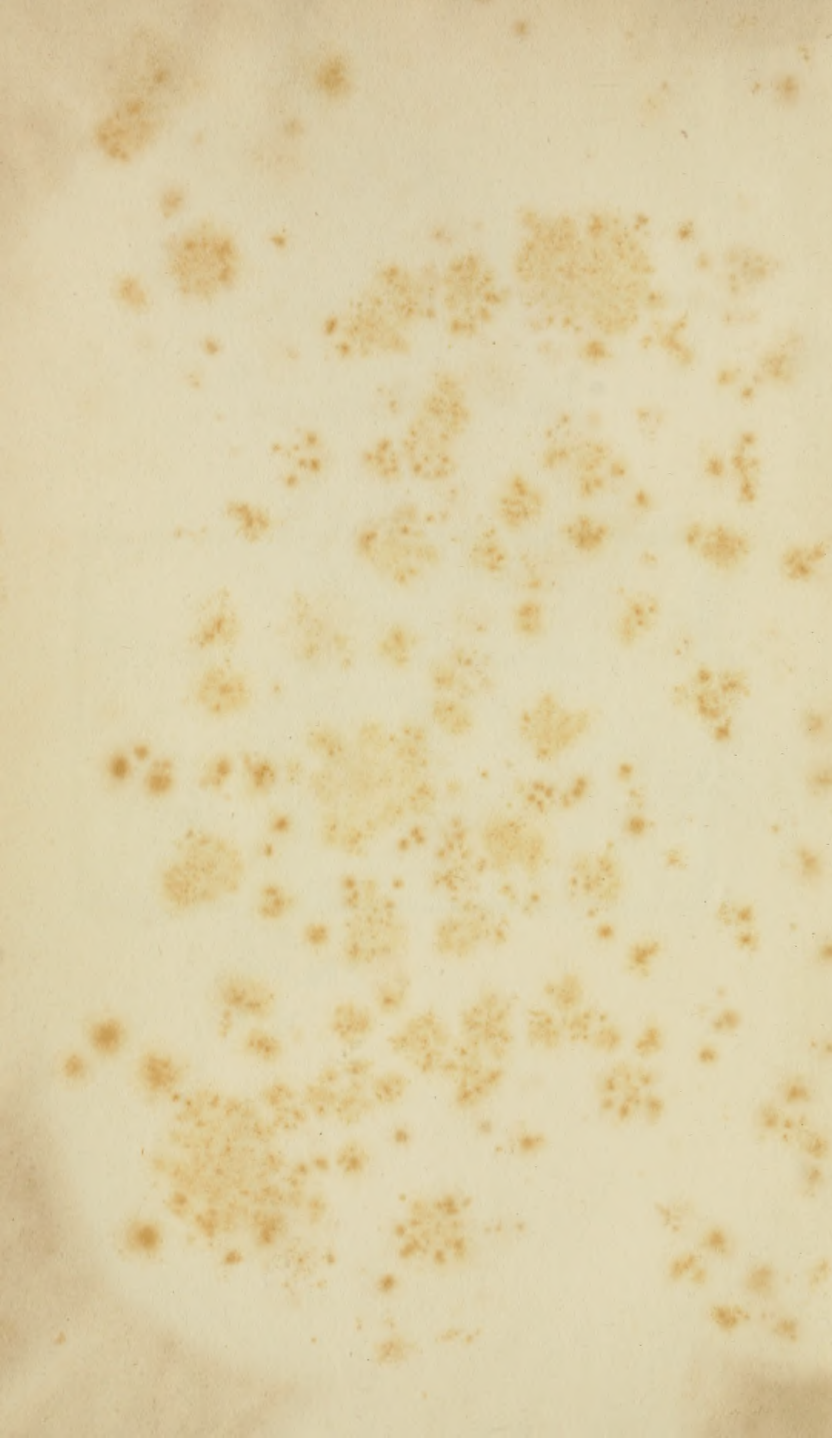
DD

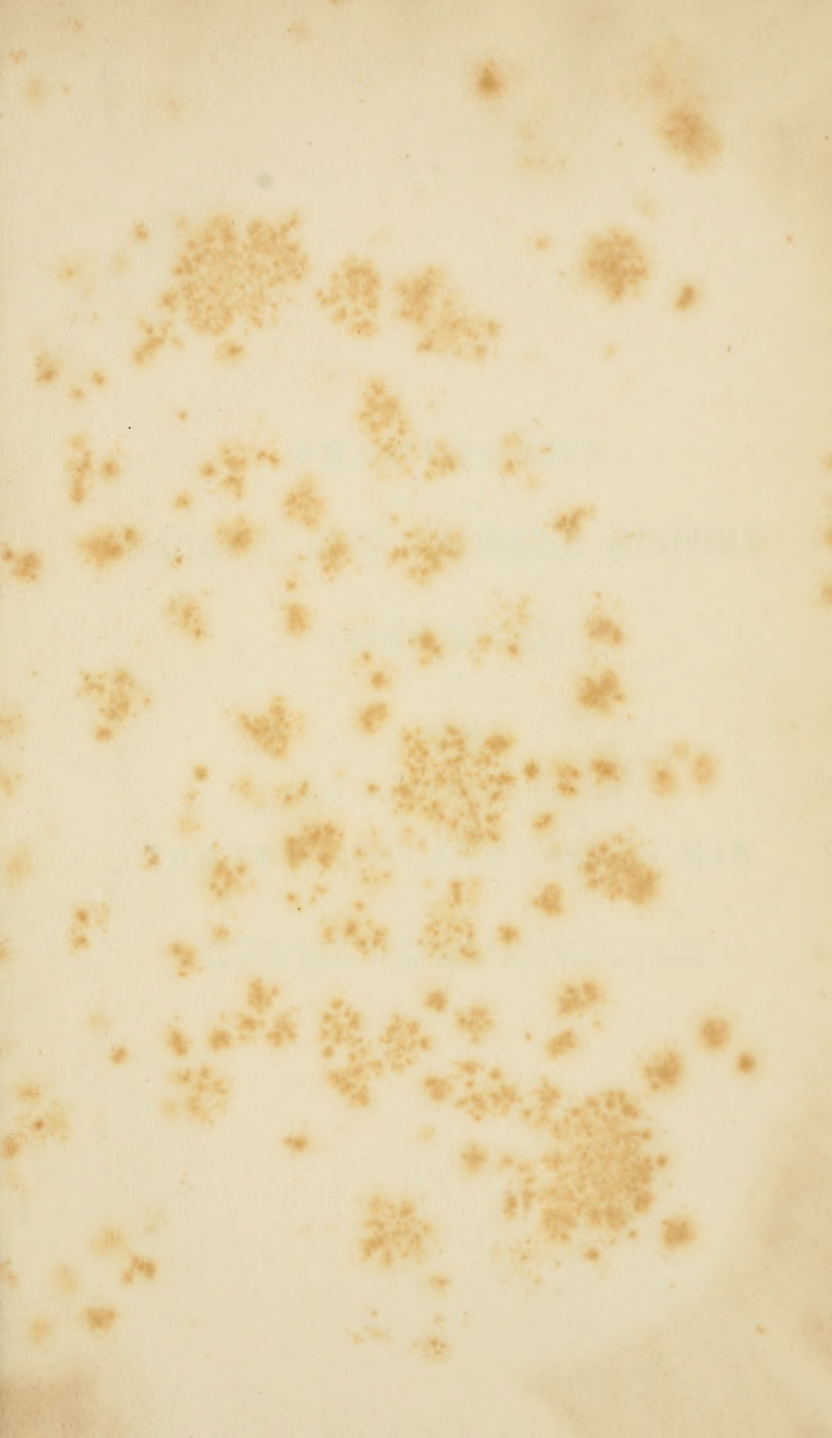
Theological Seminary
Princeton N.J.

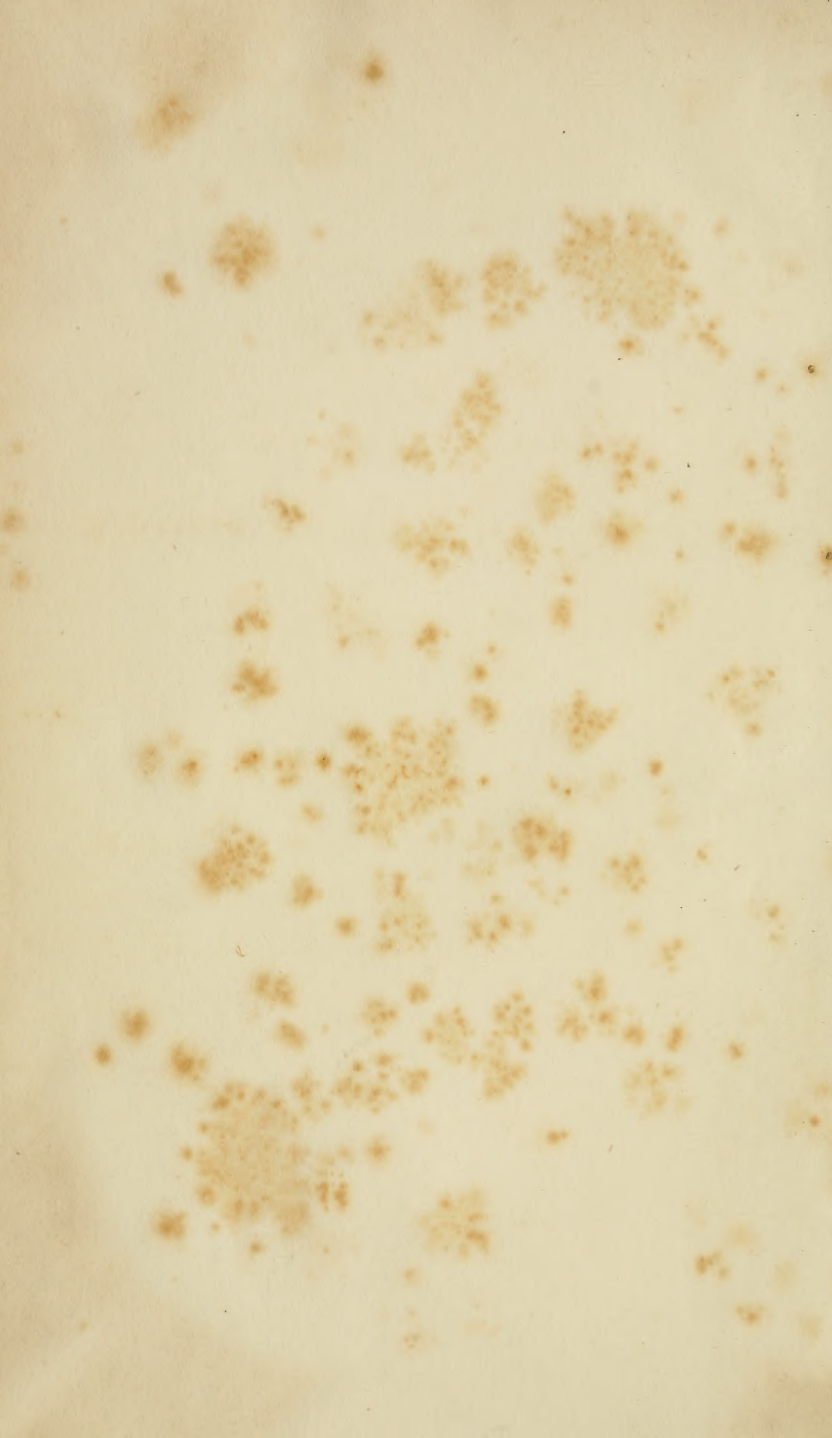
16-4

LIBRARY	
OF THE	
Theological Seminary,	
PRINCETON, N. J.	
Case, <u>BS1197</u>	Division <u>8</u>
Shelf, <u>1556</u>	Section <u>1</u>
Book, <u>1819</u>	No. <u>1</u>
<u>V.2</u>	

SCC
#11,683
V.2







SHUCKFORD'S
SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY
CONNECTED;

WITH

THE DISSERTATION ON
THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

CHARLES WOOD, Printer, Poppin's Court, Fleet Street, London.

THE
SACRED AND PROFANE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
CONNECTED,

FROM
THE CREATION OF THE WORLD
TO
THE DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF SARDANAPALUS, AND TO THE DECLENSION OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH
AND ISRAEL, UNDER THE REIGNS OF AHAZ AND PEKAH:

Including
THE DISSERTATION ON
THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

✓ BY
SAMUEL SHUCKFORD, D.D.
CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY, GEORGE THE SECOND.

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND GREATLY IMPROVED,
BY
JAMES CREIGHTON, B.A.

IN FOUR VOLUMES,
VOL. II.

THE FIFTH EDITION,
*Illustrated with a new and correct Set of Maps and Plans, and
an Extensive Index.*

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR WILLIAM BAYNES, PATERNOSTER ROW.
MDCCCXIX.

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

CONNECTED

BY

J. H. P.

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

BY

THE IMITATION OF THE ANTIQUARIAN AT THE COURT OF LONDON
 RECALLED, AND THE IMITATION OF THE IMITATION OF LONDON
 AND LONDON, UNDER THE EYE OF THE ANTIQUARIAN

J. H. P.

THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN

BY

SAMUEL JOHNSON, D.D.

EDITED BY J. H. P. IN HIS EDITION OF THE ANTIQUARIAN
 LONDON, 1790

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED

BY J. H. P. IN HIS EDITION OF THE ANTIQUARIAN

LONDON, 1790

LONDON, 1790

LONDON, 1790

LONDON, 1790

LONDON, 1790

LONDON, 1790

LONDON, 1790

LONDON, 1790

LONDON, 1790

LONDON, 1790



TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES,

LORD VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND,

BARON OF LYNN REGIS,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,

ONE OF THE LORDS OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE

PRIVY COUNCIL, AND

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE, &c. &c.

MY LORD;

YOUR Lordship's condescension, in permitting me to beg your patronage of what I now offer to the world, will not be surprising to those, who have the honour to know your Lordship : for they agree in testifying your inclination to countenance and protect any clergyman, who endeavours to apply himself to studies suitable to his profession.

The design of my attempt is to vindicate the truth of Revealed Religion, as far as the

history of the times I treat of gives me opportunity. It is suggested by some writers, that there are questions to be made “about the antiquity, authority, inspiration, and perfection of the books both of the Old and New Testament, and about the morality, religious doctrines, and other notions contained in them; about the harmony of the parts of those books to one another, and their contradiction to profane history; and about the miracles reported in them.” I have brought down the inquiry from the beginning; I have examined, I hope, with the greatest freedom: and if even my imperfect endeavours should evidence, as far as I have gone, that there is nothing unreasonable or contradictory in the Scriptures, what might be done upon this subject if some great hand would treat it, and compose a work worthy of your Lordship’s acceptance and protection?

The licentiousness of some modern writers would bring a lasting reproach upon the present age, if their sentiments could go

down to posterity with any marks of public approbation. But as it is one part of our present happiness, so we cannot but consider with pleasure, that, however fond some are of objecting against all revealed religion, or of representing our legal establishment of the Christian to be an encroachment upon their natural rights and civil liberties, yet, when the history of those times, which have been happily distinguished by your Lordship's conducting the public counsels, shall be read hereafter, it will appear, that the truly great persons, who did most for the public happiness and liberties of mankind, were the truest patrons of the Universities, the Church, and Clergy; and that in the best manner, by being as averse to all thoughts of persecution in defence of even true religion, as they were willing to favour those, who, by proper arguments, and a just behaviour and disposition, were industrious to recommend it to the world.

I am sensible, that my ambition of your Lordship's favour may be a disadvantage to

my performance, by creating expectations, which nothing of mine can possibly answer. But as I flatter myself, that a good intention will appear through the whole, so I hope the prefixing your Lordship's name will remind the severer readers, how disposed the truly great are to favour a well-meant design, though it be not executed by a hand able to carry it through in a manner liable to no exceptions.

I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

And most humble Servant,

SAMUEL SHUCKFORD.

P R E F A C E.

THIS Second Volume, which I now offer to the Public, carries down the History of the World to the exit of the children of Israel out of Egypt. The method I have observed is the same as in the former Volume; and I have in this, as in the other, interspersed several digressions upon such subjects as either the Scripture accounts, or the hints we meet with in profane authors, concerning the times I treat of, suggested.

Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology was not published until after I had finished both my former volume and the preface to it; but as his sentiments upon ancient chronology have been since that time offered to the world, it will become me to endeavour to give some reasons for having formerly, and for still continuing to differ from him. I am not yet come down to the times where he begins his chronology; for which reason it would

be an improper, as well as a very troublesome, anticipation, to enter into particulars, which I shall be able to set in a much clearer light when I shall give the history of those times to which he has supposed them to belong. But since there are in Sir Isaac Newton's work several arguments of a more extensive influence than can be confined to any one particular epoch, and which are, in truth, the main foundation of his whole scheme, and affect the whole body of ancient chronology, I shall endeavour to consider them here, that the reader may judge, whether I have already, as well as whether I shall hereafter proceed rightly, in not being determined by them. The first, which I shall mention, is the astronomical argument for fixing the time of the Argonautic expedition, formed from the constellations of Chiron. This seems to be demonstration, and to prove incontestably, that the ancient profane history is generally carried about three hundred years higher backward than the truth. The full force of this argument is clearly expressed in the Short Chronicle^a as follows :

^a See Short Chronicle, p. 25. The argument is offered at large in Chronology of the Greeks, p. 83.

I. “ Chiron formed the constellations for the use of the Argonauts, and placed the solstitial and equinoctial points in the fifteenth degrees, or middles of the constellations of Cancer, Chelæ, Capricorn, and Aries. Meton, in the year of Nabonassar 316, observed the Summer Solstice in the eighth degree of Cancer; and therefore the Solstice had then gone back seven degrees. It goes back one degree in about seventy-two years, and seven degrees in about five hundred and four years. Count these years back from the year of Nabonassar 316, and they will place the Argonautic expedition nine hundred and thirty-six years before Christ.” The Greeks (says our great and learned author^b) placed it three hundred years earlier. The Reader will easily see the whole force of this argument. Meton, anno Nabonass. 316, found, that the Solstices were in the eighth degrees of the constellations. Chiron, at the time of the Argonautic expedition, placed them in the fifteenth degrees. The Solstice goes back seven degrees in five hundred and four years: from whence it follows, that the

^b Chronology of the Greeks, p. 94.

time when Chiron placed the Solstices in the fifteenth degrees was five hundred and four years before anno Nabonass. 316, when Meton found, that they were in the eighth degrees.

The fallacy of this argument must appear very evident to any one who attends to it; for suppose we allow, that Chiron did really place the Solstices as Sir Isaac Newton represents (though I think it most probable that he did not so place them), yet it must be undeniably plain, that nothing can be certainly established from Chiron's position of them, unless it appears that Chiron knew how to give them their true place. It was easy for so great a master of astronomy as Sir Isaac Newton to calculate where the Solstices ought to be placed in the year of our Lord 1689^c, and to know how many years have passed since they were in the fifteenth degrees of the constellations. But though we should allow, that Chiron supposed them, in his time, to be in this position, yet, if he was really mistaken, no argument can be formed from Chiron's position of them. For supposing the true

^c Chron. of the Greeks, p. 86.

place of the Solstices, in the days of Chiron, to be in the nineteenth degrees of the constellations, it will be evident, from what was their true place in the year of our Lord 1689, as well as from what was their place anno Nabonass. 316, that the time of Chiron's making his scheme of the heavens was about three hundred years earlier than our great and learned author supposes, though Chiron erroneously placed the Solstices at that time in the fifteenth degrees of the constellations, instead of the nineteenth; and whether Chiron might not mistake four or five degrees this way or that way, we may judge from what follows.

Chiron's skill in astronomy was so imperfect, that we must suppose he could not find the true place of the Solstices with any tolerable exactness. The Egyptians were the first who found out, that the year consisted of more than three hundred and sixty days. Strabo informs us^d, that the Theban priests were the most eminent philosophers and astronomers; and that they numbered the days of the year, not by the course of the Moon, but by that of the Sun; and that

^d Strabo Geogr. lib. xvii, p. 816.

to twelve months, consisting each of thirty days, they added five days every year. Herodotus testifies the same thing^e. “The Egyptians,” says he, “were the first who found out the length of the year.” And he tells us particularly, what they determined to be the true length of it, namely, “twelve months of thirty days each, and five days added besides.” Diodorus Siculus says, “The Thebans,” *i.e.* the priests of Thebes in Egypt, “were the first, who brought philosophy and astronomy to an exactness;” and he adds, “they determined the year to consist of twelve months, each of thirty days; and added five days to twelve such months, as being the full measure of the Sun’s annual revolution^f.” Thus, until the Egyptians found out the mistake, all astronomers were in a very great error, supposing the Sun’s annual motion to be performed in three hundred and sixty days.

It may perhaps be here said, that the Egyptians had improved their astronomy

^e Herodot. lib. ii, cap. 4.

^f Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. i, sec. 50, p. 32. Diodorus indeed mentions the *τεταρτον*, or six hours, which were added afterwards; but these were not accounted to belong to the year so early as the five days.

before Chiron's days, and that Chiron may be supposed to have been instructed by them, and so have been a pretty good astronomer: to this I answer,

If the Egyptians had improved their astronomy before Chiron's time, yet the Greeks were ignorant of this measure of the year until Thales went to Egypt, and conversed with the priests of that nation. Thales, says Laertius^g, was the first who corrected the Greek year. And this opinion of Laertius is confirmed by Herodotus, who represents Solon, a contemporary of Thales, in his conference with Cræsus, very remarkably mistaking the true measure of the year. Thales had found out, that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days; but the exact particulars of what he had learned in this point were not immediately known all over Greece; and so Solon represents to Cræsus, that the year consisted of three hundred and seventy-five days; for he represents it as necessary to add a whole month, *i. e.* thirty days, every other year, to adjust the year then in use to its true measure^h. The notion therefore, of the received

^g Laert. in vita Thaletis.

^h Herodot. lib. i, c. 32.

computed year's being too short, was new in Solon's time. He was apprised, that it was so ; but what Thales brought from Egypt upon the subject was not yet generally known or understood ; and thus Solon made mistakes in his guesses about it. Thales, according to the vulgar account, lived above six hundred years after Chiron, and above three hundred years after him according to Sir Isaac Newton ; therefore Chiron was entirely ignorant of all this improvement in astronomy. Chiron supposed three hundred and sixty days to be a year, and if he knew no better how to estimate the Sun's annual motion, his *σχηματα ολυμπε*, his draughts of the constellations must be very inaccurate ; he could never place the Solstices with any tolerable exactness, but might easily err four or five degrees in his position of them ; and if we had before us the best scheme which he could draw, I dare say, we could demonstrate nothing from it, but the great imperfection of the ancient astronomy. “ If, indeed, it could be known what was the true place of the solstitial points in Chiron's time, it might be known, by taking the distance of that place from the present position of them, how much time has

elapsed from Chiron to our days." But I answer, it cannot be accurately known, from any schemes of Chiron, what was the true place of the Solstices in his days; because, though it is said, that he calculated the then position of them, yet he was so inaccurate an astronomer, that his calculation might err four or five degrees from their true position.

Our great and learned author mentions Thales and Meton, as if the observation of both these astronomers might confirm his hypothesis. He says, "Thales wrote a book of the Tropics and Equinoxes, and predicted the Eclipses. And Pliny tells us, that he determined the *occasus matutinus* of the Pleiades to be upon the twenty-fifth day after the Autumnal Equinox." From hence he argues, 1. That the Solstices were, in Thales's days, in the middle of the eleventh degrees of the signs. 2. That the Equinoxes had therefore moved backwards from their place in Chiron's time, to this their position in Thales's days, as much as answers to three hundred and twenty years; and therefore, 3. That Chiron made his scheme, and consequently the Argonautic expedition was undertaken not more than so many years

before the days of Thales. But here it must be remarked, that the chief force of this argument depends upon Chiron's having rightly placed the Solstices in his time ; so that what has been said of Chiron's inaccuracy must fully answer it. If Chiron erred in placing the Solstices ; if their true place in his time might be in the nineteenth or twentieth degrees, and not, as he is said to suppose, in the fifteenth ; then, however true it be, that they were in the eleventh degrees in the time of Thales, yet it will not follow, that Chiron lived but three hundred and twenty years before him. If Chiron could have been exact, there had been a foundation for the argument ; but if Chiron was mistaken, nothing but mistake can be built upon his uncorrected computation. But if Chiron was not concerned in this argument, if it depended solely upon the skill of Thales, I still suspect, that there might be, though not so much, yet some error in it. Thales, though a famous astronomer for the age in which he lived, yet was not skilful enough to determine with true exactness the time of the setting of the Pleiades, or to fix accurately the Autumnal Equinox ; therefore no great stress

can be laid upon any guesses, which he may have been reported to make in these matters.

Thales, as I before hinted, was the first of the Grecians, who learned, that the year consisted of more than three hundred and sixty days ; but though he had learned this, yet he was ignorant of another material point, namely, that it consisted of almost six hours over and above the five additional days before mentioned. When the Egyptians first found this out is uncertain ; but their discovery of it was not so early as the time when they came to the knowledge of the other point, which is evident from the fable in which their mythologic writers dressed up the doctrine of the year's consisting of three hundred and sixty-five daysⁱ. According to that fable, five days were the exact seventy-second part of the whole year, and five is so of three hundred and sixty ; therefore, when the five days were first added, the year was thought to consist only of three hundred and sixty-five days. It is hard to say when the Egyptians made this farther improvement of their astronomy ;

ⁱ See the fable, preface to vol. i, p. xx (note.)

but whenever they did it is certain that Thales knew nothing of it, for Sir John Marsham rightly observes, that Herodotus takes no notice of a quarter part of a day, which should be added to the year over and above the five additional days, and adds^k, that Eudoxus first learned from the Egyptian priests, that such farther addition ought to be made to the measure of the year, and he cites Strabo's express words to confirm his observation^l. Now Eudoxus lived about three hundred years after Thales, and therefore Thales was entirely ignorant, both of this, and, according to Strabo, of many other very material points in astronomy, which Eudoxus learned in Egypt.

Thales is, indeed, said to have foretold an eclipse, *i. e.* I suppose he was able to foresee that there would be one, not that he could calculate exactly the time when; perhaps he might guess within two or three weeks, and perhaps he might err above

^k Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 236.

^l Strabo says, that Eudoxus and Plato learned from the Egyptian priests, τα ἐπιτρεχοντα της ἡμερας και της νυκτος μορια ταις τριακοσαις ἐξηκοντα πεντε ἡμεραις εἰς την ἐκπληρωσιν τε ἐνιαυτου χρονε; and he adds, ἀλλ' ἡγνοετο τews ὁ ἐνιαυτος παρα τοις Ἑλλησιν, ὡς και ἄλλα πλειω. Strabo, Geog. lib. xvii, p. 806.

twice that number, and yet be thought in his age a very great astronomer. Sir Isaac Newton says, that he wrote a book concerning the Tropics and Equinoxes; which undoubtedly must be a very sorry one. I cannot apprehend, that Thales could settle the Equinoxes with so much exactness, as that any great stress could have been laid even upon his account of the Pleiades setting twenty-five days after the Autumnal Equinox. He might or might not happen to err a day or two about the time of the Equinox, and as much about the setting of the Pleiades.

Sir Isaac Newton observes, that Meton, in order to publish his lunar cycle of nineteen years, observed the Summer Solstice in the year of Nabonassar 316, and Columella (he says) placed it in the eighth degree of Cancer. From whence he argues, that the Solstice had gone back from Chiron's days to Meton's at least seven degrees, and therefore Meton was but five hundred and four years after Chiron^m. But here again the argument depends upon Chiron's having accurately settled the Equinoxes in his time;

^m Chronology of the Greeks, p. 93.

therefore the answer I have before given will here be sufficient. As to Meton, from this account of his settling the Equinoxes, and from Dean Prideaux's of his nineteen years cycleⁿ, it would seem probable, that he was a very exact astronomer. But I must confess, there appear to me to be considerable reasons against admitting this opinion of him; for how could Meton be so exact an astronomer, when Hipparchus, who lived almost three hundred years after Meton^o, was the first who found out, that the Equinox had a motion backwards, since even he was so far from being accurate, that he miscounted twenty-eight years in one hundred, in calculating that motion^p. Meton might not be so exact an astronomer as he is represented. The cycle which goes under his name might be first projected by him; but perhaps he did not give it that perfection which it afterwards received. Columella lived in the time of the Emperor Claudius, and he might easily ascribe more to Meton than belonged to him, as living so many ages after him. Later authors perfected Meton's rude draughts of astronomy; and Columella might suppose

ⁿ Prideaux, Connect. part ii, book iv.

^o Newton's Chronology, p. 94.

^p Id. *ibid*.

the corrections made in his originals by later hands to be Meton's. We now call the nineteen years cycle by his name; but I suppose, that nothing more of it belongs to him than an original design of something like it, which the astronomers of after-ages added to and completed by degrees.

Before I dismiss the astronomical argument of our truly great author, I would add the very celebrated Dr. Halley's account of the astronomy of the ancients, which he communicated some years ago to the author of "Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning." His words are^a,

"The astronomy of the ancients is usually reckoned for one of those sciences, wherein the learning of the Egyptians consisted; and Strabo expressly declares, that there were several universities in Babylon, wherein astronomy was chiefly professed; and Pliny tells us much the same thing. So that it might well be expected, that where such a science was so much studied, it ought to have been proportionably cultivated. Notwithstanding all which it does appear, that there was nothing done by the Chaldeans

^a See Wotton's Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning, chap. xxiv, p. 320.

older than about four hundred years before Alexander's conquest, which could be serviceable either to Hipparchus or Ptolomy in their determination of the celestial motions ; for had there been any observations older than those we have, it cannot be doubted but the victorious Greeks must have procured them as well as those they did, they being still more valuable for their antiquity. All we have of them is only seven eclipses of the Moon preserved in Ptolomy's Syntaxis ; and even those are very coarsely set down, and the oldest not much above seven hundred years before Christ ; so that, after all the fame of these Chaldeans, we may be sure that they had not gone far in this science. And though Callisthenes is said by Porphyry to have brought from Babylon to Greece observations above one thousand nine hundred years older than Alexander, yet the proper authors making no mention or use of any such, renders it justly suspected for a fable^r. What the Egyptians did in this matter is less evident, because no

^r Callisthenes's account may not be a fable : the subsequent authors neither mentioned nor used these observations, because they were in truth such sorry ones, that no use could be made of them.

one observation made by them can be found in their countryman Ptolomy, except what was done by the Greeks of Alexandria under three hundred years before Christ. Therefore whatever was the learning of these two ancient nations, respecting the motions of the stars, it seems to have been chiefly theoretical; and I will not deny, but some of them might very long since be apprised of the Sun's being the centre of our system, for such was the doctrine of Pythagoras and Philolaus, and some others, who were said to have travelled into these parts.

“From hence it may appear, that the Greeks were the first practical astronomers, who endeavoured in earnest to make themselves masters of the science, and to whom we owe all the old observations of the Planets, and of the Equinoxes and Tropics. Thales was the first who could predict an eclipse in Greece, not six hundred years before Christ; and without doubt it was but a rude account he had of the motions; and it was Hipparchus who made the first catalogue of the fixed stars, not above one hundred and fifty years before Christ; without which catalogue there could be scarce such a science as astronomy; and it is to the subtilty and

diligence of that great author, that the world was beholden for all its astronomy for above one thousand five hundred years. All that Ptolomy did, in his *Syntaxis*, was no more than a bare transcription of the theories of Hipparchus, with some little emendation of the periodical motions, after about three hundred years interval; and this book of Ptolomy was, without dispute, the utmost perfection of the ancient astronomy; nor was there any thing in any nation before it comparable thereto; for which reason all the other authors thereof were disregarded and lost, and among them Hipparchus himself. Nor did posterity dare to alter the theories delivered by Ptolomy, though successively Albategnius and the Arabs, and after them the Spanish astronomers under Alphonsus endeavoured to mend the errors which they observed in their computations. But their labours were fruitless, whilst from the defects of their principles it was impossible to reconcile the Moon's motion within a degree, nor the planets Mars and Mercury to a much greater space."

Thus we see the opinion of this learned and judicious astronomer. He very justly says, that Thales could give but a rude

account of the motions, and that before Hipparchus, there could be scarce such a science as astronomy; most certainly therefore no such nice argumentation as our great author offers can be well grounded upon (as he himself calls them) the coarse, I might say the conjectural and unaccountable, astronomy of the ancients.

II. Another argument, which Sir Isaac Newton offers, in order to show, that the ancient profane history is carried up higher than it ought to be, is taken from the lengths of the reigns of the ancient kings. He remarks^s, that “the Egyptians, Greeks, and Latins, reckoned the reigns of kings equipollent to generations of men, and three generations to a hundred years; and accordingly they made their kings reign one with another thirty and three years apiece and above.” He would have these reckonings reduced to the course of nature, and the reigns of the ancient kings put one with another at about eighteen or twenty years apiece^t. This he represents would correct the error of carrying the profane history too far backward, and would fix the se-

^s Newton's Chronology, p. 51.

^t P. 54.

veral epochs of it more agreeable to true chronology.

In answer to this I would observe, 1. The word γενεα, generation, may either signify a descent; thus Jacob was two generations after Abraham, *i. e.* he was his grandson: or it may signify an age, *i. e.* the space of time in which all those, who are of the same descent, may be supposed to finish their lives. Thus we read that Joseph died, and all his brethren, and all that generation^u. In this sense the generation did not end at Joseph's death, nor at the death of the youngest of his brethren; nor until all the persons, who were in the same line of descent with them, were gone off the stage. A generation, in this latter sense, must be a much longer space of time than a generation in the former sense. Manasseh and Ephraim, the sons of Joseph, were two generations or descents after Jacob, for they were his grandchildren; yet they were born in the same age or generation in which Jacob was born, for they were born before he died. But I confess the word γενεα, or generation, is more frequently used to signify a descent;

^u Exodus i, 6.

in which sense it is commonly found in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, in the profane as well as in the sacred writers. But I must remark, 2. That reigns and these generations are equipollent, when the son succeeds to the kingdom at his father's death. Thus, if a crown descends from father to son, for seven, or more, or not so many successions, it is evident that as many successions as there are, we may count so many either reigns, or descents, or generations; a reign and a descent here are manifestly equivalent, for they are one and the same thing. But, 3. When it has happened in a catalogue of kings, that sometimes sons succeeded their fathers, at other times brothers their brothers, and sometimes persons of different families obtained the crown; then the reigns will not be found to be equivalent to the generations; for in such a catalogue several of the kings will have been of the same descent with others, and so there will not be so many descents as reigns, and consequently the reigns are not one with another equivalent to generations. Now, this being the case in almost all, if not in every series of any number of kings that can be produced; it ought not to be said, that

reigns and generations are in general equivalent; for a number of reigns will be, generally speaking, for the reasons above-mentioned, much shorter than a like number of generations or descents. 4. When descents or generations proceed only by the eldest sons, then each generation ought to be computed, one with another, about as many years as are at a medium the years of the ages of the fathers of such generations at the birth of their eldest sons. Thus we find from the birth of Arphaxad^x to the birth of Terah, the father of Abraham^y, are seven generations, or two hundred and nineteen years, which are thirty-one years and above one fourth to a generation. Now, the seven fathers in these generations had their respective sons, one of them at about thirty-five years of age^z, one at thirty-four^a, one at thirty-two^b, three at thirty^c, and one at

^x Gen. xi, 11.

^y Gen. xi, 26.

^z Salah was born when Arphaxad was thirty-five, ver. 12.

^a Peleg was born when Eber was thirty-four, ver. 16.

^b Serug was born when Reu was thirty-two, ver. 20.

^c Eber was born when Salah was thirty, ver. 14; Reu when Peleg was thirty, ver. 18; Nahor when Serug was thirty, ver. 22.

twenty-nine^d. 5. When descents or generations proceed by the younger or youngest sons, the length of such generations will be according to the time of the father's life in which such younger sons are born, and also in proportion to what is the common length or standard of human life in the age when they are born. When men lived to about two hundred, and had children after they were a hundred years old, it is evident, that the younger children might survive their parents near one hundred years. But now, when men rarely live beyond seventy or eighty years, a son, born in the latest years of his father's life, cannot be supposed, in the common course of things, to be alive near so long after his father's death; and consequently descents or generations by the younger sons must have been far longer, in the ages of ancient longevity, than they can be now. Therefore, 6. Since in the genealogies of all families, and the catalogues of kings in all kingdoms, the descents and successions are found to proceed, not always by the eldest sons, but, through frequent accidents, many times by the younger chil-

^d Terah was born when Nahor was twenty-nine, ver. 24.

dren, it is evident, that the difference in the common length of human life, in different ages of the world, must have had a considerable effect upon the length of both reigns and generations, as both must be longer or shorter in this or that age in some measure, according to what is the common standard of the length of men's lives in the age to which they belong. 7. Reigns, as before said, are in general not so long as generations; but, from historical observations, a calculation may be formed at a medium, how often, one time with another, such failures of descent happen as make the difference; and the length of reigns may be calculated in proportion to the length of generations according to it. Sir Isaac Newton computes the length of reigns to be to the length of generations, one with another, as eighteen or twenty to thirty-three or thirty-four^e. These particulars ought to be duly considered, in order to judge of our learned author's argument from the length of reigns and generations. For,

1. The catalogues of kings, which our great and learned author produces to con-

^e See Newton's Chronol. of the Greeks, p. 53, 54.

firm his opinion, are all of later date, some of them many ages later than the times of David. He says^f, the eighteen kings of Judah, who succeeded Solomon, reigned one with another twenty-two years each. The fifteen kings of Israel after Solomon reigned seventeen years and a quarter each. The eighteen kings of Babylon from Nabonassar reigned eleven years and two thirds of a year each. The ten kings of Persia from Cyrus reigned twenty-one years each. The sixteen successors of Alexander the Great, and of his brother and son in Syria, reigned fifteen years and a quarter each. The eleven kings of England from William the Conqueror reigned twenty-one years and a half each. The first twenty-four kings of France from Pharamond reigned nineteen years each. The next twenty-four kings of France, from Ludovicus Balbus, reigned eighteen years and three quarters each. The next fifteen from Philip Valesius twenty-one years each; and all the sixty-three kings of France, one with another, reigned nineteen years and a half each. These are the several catalogues, which our great and

^f See Newton's Chronol. of the Greeks, p. 53, 54.

learned author has produced: they are of various dates, down from Solomon to the present time; but as none of them rise so high as the time of king David, all that can be proved from them is, that the observation of David, who remarked that the length of human life was in his time reduced to what has ever since been the standard of it^s, was exceedingly just; for, from Solomon's time to the present day, it appears, that the length of king's reigns in different ages, and in different countries, have been much the same, and therefore during this whole period, the common length of human life has been what it now is, and agreeable to what David stated it. But,

2. It cannot be inferred from these reigns mentioned by Sir Isaac Newton, that kings did not reign one with another a much longer space of time in the ages which I am concerned with, in which men generally lived to a much greater age, than in the times out of which Sir Isaac Newton has taken the catalogue of kings which he has produced. From Abraham down almost to David, men lived, according to the Scrip-

^s Psalm xc, ver. 10.

ture accounts of the length of their lives, to, I think, above one hundred years, at a medium, exceeding that term very much in the times near Abraham; and seldom falling short of it until within a generation or two of David. But in David's time the length of human life was, at a medium, only seventy years^h; therefore whoever considers this difference must see, that the length of kings' reigns, as well as of generations, must be considerably affected by it. Successions in both must come on slower in the early ages, according to the greater length of men's lives. I could produce many catalogues of successions from father to son, to confirm what I have offered; but since there is one which takes in almost the whole compass of time which I am concerned in, and which has all the weight that the authority of the sacred writers can give, and which will bring the point in question to a clear and indisputable conclusion, I shall, for brevity sake, omit all others, and offer only that to the reader's farther examination. From Abraham to David (including both Abraham and David) were fourteen generationsⁱ;

^h Psalm xc, ver. 10.

ⁱ Matt. i.

now from Abraham's birth, A. M. 2008, to David's death, about A. M. 2986^k are nine hundred and seventy-eight years, so that generations in these times took up one with another near seventy years each, *i. e.* they were above double the length which Sir Isaac Newton computes them; and which they were, I believe, after the time of David. We must therefore suppose the reign of kings in these ancient times to be longer than his computation in the same proportion; and if so, we must calculate them at above forty years each, one with another. The profane historians have recorded them to be so, for, according to the lists which we have from Castor¹ of the ancient kings of Sicyon and Argos, the first twelve kings of Sicyon reigned no more than forty-four years each one with another, and the first eight kings of Argos something above forty-six, as our

^k Usher's Annals. It may perhaps be thought that I ought not to compute these fourteen generations from the birth of Abraham, but from the death of Terah, the father of Abraham, who died when Abraham was seventy-five. If we compute from hence, the fourteen generations take up only nine hundred and three years, which allows but sixty-four years and a half to a generation, which is but almost double the length of Sir Isaac Newton's generations.

¹ Euseb. in Chron.

great author has remarked^m. But the reigns of the first twelve kings of Sicyon extended from A. M. 1920 to A. M. 2450ⁿ; so that they began eighty-eight years before the birth of Abraham, and ended in the time of Moses; and the reigns of the first eight kings of Argos began A. M. 2154^o, and ended A. M. 2525; so that they reached from the latter end of Abraham's life to a few years after the exit of the Israelites out of Egypt. Now let any one form a just computation of the length of men's lives in these times, and it will in nowise appear unreasonable to think, that the reigns of kings were of this length in these days. I might observe, that the ancient accounts of the kings of different kingdoms in these times agree to one another, as well as our great author's more modern catalogues. The twelve first kings of Assyria, according to the writers, who have given us accounts of them^p, reigned, one with another, about forty years each. The first twelve kings of the Egyptian kingdoms, according to Sir John Marsham's Tables, did not reign full so long; but it must be remembered, that in the first

^m Newton, Chron. p. 51.

ⁿ See hereafter, b. vi, p. 36.

^o Id. *ibid*.

^p Euseb. in Chron.

times, the kings of Egypt were frequently elected, and so, many times, sons did not succeed their fathers^q.

Our great and learned author remarks^r, that the seven kings of Rome, who preceded the consuls, reigned, one with another, thirty-five years each. It may be observed, indeed, that as the reigns of these kings do not fall within the times of which I treat, I am not concerned to vindicate the accounts which are given of them; but I would not entirely omit mentioning them, because the length of their reigns may be thought an undeniable instance of the inaccuracy of ancient computations, more especially because these kings were all more modern than the times of David. If we suppose Rome to be built by Romulus A. M. 3256^s, we must begin his reign almost three hundred years after the death of David, and the lives of men in these times being reduced to what has been esteemed the common standard ever since, it may perhaps be expected, that the reigns of these kings should not be longer, one with another, than the reigns of our kings of England, from William the

^q See hereafter in book vi, p. 86.

^r Newton's Chronology, p. 51.

^s Usher Annals.

Conqueror; or of the kings of France, from Pharamond; or of any other series of kings mentioned by our illustrious author. But here I would observe, that these seven kings of Rome were not descendants of one another; for Plutarch remarks, that not one of them left his crown to his son^t; two of them, namely, Ancus Martius and Tarquinius Superbus, were, indeed, descendants from the sons of former kings; but the other five were of different families. The successors of Romulus were elected to the crown, and the Roman people did not confine their choice even to their own country; but chose such as were most likely to promote the public good^u: It is evident, therefore, that the length of these kings' reigns should not be estimated according to the common measure of successive monarchs; for had these Roman kings been very old men when advanced to the throne, their several reigns would have been very short. Now the reason why they are so much longer than we suppose they ought to be, may be,

^t Της των Ῥωμαίων ὅρα Βασιλεις, ὡν ἑδεις υἱὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπέλιπε. Plut. de animi Tranquillitat. p. 467.

^u See Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom.; Livii Hist.; Flor. Hist.

because, as the affairs of the infant state of Rome required that the city should be in the hands of the most able warriors, as well as skilful counsellors, so they chose to the crown none but persons in the prime of life; as well to have a king of sufficient ability to lead their armies, as that they might not have frequent vacancies of the throne to shake and unsettle the frame of their government, which was not yet firmly enough compacted to bear too many state convulsions. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has been very particular in informing us of the age of most of these kings; when they began to reign, how many years each of them reigned, and at what age most of them died*. He supposes that the oldest man of them all did not live above eighty-three, for that was Numa's age when he died^y; and he represents L. Tarquinius as quite worn out at eighty^z; so that none of them are supposed to have lived to an extravagant term of life. But if, after what I have offered, it should be still thought that their reigns, one with another, are too long to be admitted, I might remark farther, that

* In lib. ii, iii, iv.

^y Lib. ii, ad fin.

^z Lib. iii, c. 72.

there were interregna between the reigns of several of them. There was an interregnum between Romulus and Numa^a; another between Numa and Tullus Hostilius^b; another between T. Hostilius and Ancus Martius^c; another between A. Martius and L. Tarquinius^d. Each of these interregna might, perhaps, take up some years. The historians allot no space of time to these interregna; but we know it is no unusual thing for writers to begin the reign of a succeeding king from the death of his predecessor; though he did not immediately succeed to his crown. Numa was not elected king, until the people found by experience, that the interregal government was full of inconveniences^e, and some years administration might make them sufficiently sensible of it. When Tullus Hostilius was called to the crown, the poorer citizens were in a state of want; which could no way be relieved but by electing some very wealthy person to be king, who could afford to divide the crown lands among them^f. Ancus

^a Lib. ii, c. 57.

^b Id. lib. iii, c. 1.

^c Lib. iii, c. 36.

^d Id. *ibid.* c. 46,

^e Dionys. Halic. l. ii, c. 57.

^f Id. lib. iii, c. 1.

Martius was made king, at a time when the Roman affairs were in a very bad state, through the neglect of the public religion, and of agriculture^g. And L. Tarquinius was elected upon the necessity of the war with the Apiolani^h. Thus these kings appear not to be called to the crown until some public exigencies made it necessary to have a king. They seem to have succeeded one another, like the judges of Israel; the successor did not come to the crown immediately upon the demise of his predecessor; but when a king died, the Interreges took the government, and administered the public affairs, until some crisis demanded a new king. If this was the fact, there can be no appearance of an objection against the length of the reigns of these kings; for the reigns of the kings were not really so long, but the reigns, and the intervening interregna, put together. Now the more I consider the state of the Roman affairs as represented by Dionysius, the more I am inclined to suspect that their kings succeeded in this manner.

^g Dionys. Halic. lib. iii, c. 36.

^h Id. *ibid.* c. 49.

III. Sir Isaac Newton contendsⁱ, that there were no such kings of Assyria, as all the ancient writers have recorded to have reigned there from Ninus to Sardanapalus, and to have governed a great part of Asia for about one thousand three hundred years. Our great and learned author follows Sir John Marsham, in this particular; for Sir John Marsham first raised doubts about these kings^k; and indeed that learned gentleman hinted a great part of what is now offered upon this subject. I have formerly endeavoured to answer Sir John Marsham's objections, as far as I could then apprehend it necessary to reply to them^l; but since Sir Isaac Newton has thought fit to make use of some of them, and has added others of his own; it will be proper for me to mention all the several arguments which are now offered against these Assyrian kings, and to lay before the reader what I apprehend may be replied to them.

1. And it is remarked^m, that "the names

ⁱ Newton's Chron. chap. iii.

^k See Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 485.

^l Pref. to vol. i, p. xxxii.

^m Newton's Chronology, chap. iii.

of these pretended kings of Assyria, except two or three, have no affinity with the Assyrian names." To this I answer; Ctesias, from whom it is thought we have had the names of these kings, was not an Assyrian. He was of Cnidus, a city of Caria in the Lesser Asia; and wrote his Persian or Assyrian history (I think) in the Greek tongueⁿ. The royal records of Persia supplied him with materials^o, and it is most reasonable to think, that the Assyrian kings were not registered by their Assyrian names, in the Persian Chronicles; or if they were, that Ctesias, in his history, did not use those names which he found there, but made others, which he thought equivalent to them. Diodorus Siculus did not give the Egyptian heroes, whom he mentioned, their true Egyptian names; but invented for them such as he thought were synonymous, if duly explained^p. The true name of Mitradates's fellow servant was Spaco; but the Greeks called her Cyno^q, apprehending Cyno in Greek, to be of the same import as Spaco in the Median tongue. This was

ⁿ See Diodor. Hist. lib. ii, p. 84.

^o Id. *ibid*.

^p *Ibid*, lib. i, p. 8.

^q Herodot. Hist. lib. i, c. 110.

the common practice of the ancient writers, and some moderns have imitated it; of which instances might be given in several of the names in Thuanus's history of his own times; but certainly I need not go on farther in my reply to this objection. If Ctesias named these kings according to his own fancy, and really misnamed them; it can in nowise prove that the persons so misnamed never were in being.

2. It is argued, that Herodotus did not think Semiramis so ancient as the writers, who follow Ctesias, imagined^r. I answer; by Herodotus's accounts, the Assyrian empire began at latest A. M. 2700; for Cyrus began his reign at the death of Astyages, about A. M. 3444^s. Astyages, according to Herodotus, reigned thirty-five years^t, and therefore began his reign A. M. 3409; he succeeded Cyaxares^u. Cyaxares reigned forty years^x, and therefore began his reign A. M. 3369. Phraortes was the predecessor of Cyaxares, and reigned twenty-two years^y, and so began his reign A. M. 3347. Deioces

^r Newton's Chron. p. 266, 278.

^s Usher's Chron.; Prideaux's Connect.

^t Lib. i, c. 130.

^u Ibid. c. 107.

^x Ibid. c. 106.

^y Ibid. c. 102.

preceded Phraortes, and reigned fifty-three years^z, and therefore began to reign A. M. 3294. Herodotus supposes, that the Medes lived for some time after their revolt from the Assyrians without a king^a, we cannot suppose less than two or three years: and he remarks, that the Assyrians had governed Asia five hundred and twenty years before the revolt of the Medes; so that, according to his computations, the Assyrian empire began about A. M. 2771, which is about the time of Abimelech^b. Sir Isaac Newton begins the Assyrian empire in the days of Pul, who was contemporary with Menahem^c, in the year before our Saviour 790^d, *i. e.* A. M. 3212; so that Herodotus, however cited in favour of our learned author's scheme, does, in reality, differ near four hundred and fifty years from it. But to come to the particulars for which our learned author cites Herodotus: he says, that Herodotus tells us, that Semiramis was five generations older than Nitocris, the mother of Labynitus, or Nabonnedus, the last king of Babylon; therefore, he adds,

^z Herodot. lib. i, c. 102.

^a Ibid. c. 96.

^c Chron. p. 268.

^b Judges ix; Usher's Chron.

^d See the Short Chron.

she flourished four generations, or about one hundred and thirty-four years before Nebuchadnezzar. I answer, if Herodotus intended to represent, that Semiramis lived but one hundred and thirty-four years before Nebuchadnezzar, when, according to his own computations, the Assyrian empire began as above, A. M. 2771, he was absurd indeed; for all writers have unanimously agreed to place Semiramis near the beginning of the empire; but this would be to suppose her in the later ages of it. Sir Isaac Newton himself, who begins the empire with Pul, places Semiramis in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, whom he supposes to be Pul's successor^e; and certainly Herodotus must likewise intend to place her near the times where he begins the empire, as all other writers ever did; and indeed, the works he ascribes to her, seem to intimate that he did so too^f; so that I must suspect there is a misrepresentation of Herodotus's meaning. Herodotus does indeed say, that Semiramis was πεντε γεγεννησι before Nitocris^g, but the word γεγεννα has a double acceptation. It is some-

^e Newton's. Chronol. p. 278.

^f Herodot. l. i, c. 184.

^g Ibid.

times used to signify a generation or descent, and I am sensible that Herodotus has more than once used it in this sense; but it sometimes signifies what the Latins call *Ætas*, or *Ævum*; or we, in English, an age. Now if Herodotus used it in this sense here, then he meant that Semiramis was *πεντε γενεῶσι*, *quinque ætatibus* (says the Latin translator), before Nitocris; not five generations or descents, but five ages before her. The ancient writers, both before and after Herodotus, computed a generation or age of those who lived in the early times, to be a hundred years. Thus they reckoned Nestor, of whom Tully says, “*tertiam ætatem hominum vivebat*^h,” Horace, that he was “*ter ævo functus*ⁱ,” because it was reported that he had lived three generations or ages, to have lived about three hundred years. Ovid, well expressing the common opinion, makes him say,

vixi
Annos bis centum, nunc tertia vivitur ætas^h.

The two ages or generations, which he had lived, were computed to be about two hun-

^h Lib. de Senectute.

ⁱ Lib. ii, Ode 9,

^h Metamorph. lib. xii.

dred years; and he was thought to be going on for the third century. Now, if Herodotus, in the place before us, used the word γενεα in this sense, then by Semiramis being five ages or generations before Nitocris, he meant nothing like what our learned author infers from him; but that she was about five hundred years before her. I might add, this seems most probably to be his meaning: because, if we take him in this sense, he will, as all other writers have ever done, place Semiramis near the time where he begins the Assyrian empire. I have formerly considered Herodotus's opinion, about the rise of this empire, as to the truth of it¹, and I may here, from the most learned Dean Prideaux, add^m, that “Herodotus, having travelled through Egypt, Syria, and several other countries, in order to write his history, did, as travellers usually do, put down all relations upon trust, as he met with them; and no doubt he was imposed on in many of them,” and particularly in the instance before us; but Ctesias, living in the Court of Persia, and searching the public registers, was able to give a better account

¹ Preface to vol. i. p. xxv.

^m Connection, vol. i, book ii, p. 156.

than Herodotus, of the Assyrian kings. But whether Herodotus's account be true or false, the whole of it, I am sure, does not favour our learned author's hypothesis; nor, as I apprehend, does the particular cited about Semiramis, if we take the words of Herodotus according to his own meaning.

3. Sir Isaac Newton cites Nehemiah, chap. x, ver. 32ⁿ. The words are, *Now, therefore, our God—Let not all the trouble seem little before thee, that hath come upon us, on our kings, on our princes, and on our priests, and on our prophets, and on our fathers, and on all thy people, since the time of the kings of Assyria unto this day.* Our learned author says, *since the time of the kings of Assyria*, “that is, since the time of the kingdom of Assyria, or since the rise of that empire; and therefore the Assyrian empire arose, when the kings of Assyria began to afflict the Jews.” In answer to this objection, I would observe, that the expression, *since the time of the kings of Assyria*, or, to render it more strictly, according to the Hebrew words, *from the days of the kings of Assyria*, is very general, and

ⁿ Newton's Chron. p. 267.

may signify a time commencing from any part of their times; therefore it is restraining the expression purely to serve an hypothesis, to suppose that the words mean, not from their times in general, but from the very rise or beginning of their times. The heathen writers frequently used a like general expression, the Trojan times, *πρὸ των Τρωικων*, before the Trojan times, is an expression both of Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus^o; yet neither of them meant by it, before the rise of the Trojan people, but before the Trojan war, with which the Trojans and their times ended. As to the expression before us, we shall more clearly see what was designed by it, if we consider, 1. That the sacred writers represent the Jews as suffering in and after these times from the kings of two countries, from the kings of Assyria, and from the kings of Babylon. *Israel was a scattered sheep: the lions had drove him away: first, the king of Assyria devoured him; and last, the king of Babylon brake his bones*^p.—2. The kings of Assyria, who began the troubles which were brought upon

* Thucyd. 1. i, p. 3; Diodor. lib. i, p. 4, and the same author uses *απο των Τρωικων* in the same sense; *ibid*.

^p Jeremiah 1, ver. 17.

the Israelites, were the kings who reigned at Nineveh, from Pul, before Tiglath-Pileser^a, to Nabopolassar, who destroyed Nineveh, and made Babylon the sole metropolis of the empire^r. Pul first began to afflict them; his successors, at different times, and in different manners, distressed them; until Nebuchadnezzar completed their miseries in the captivity^s. But, 3. The sacred writers, in the titles which they give to these kings, did not design to hint either the extent of their empire, or the history of their succession; but commonly call them kings of the country or city where they resided, whatever other dominions they were masters of, and without any regard to the particulars of their actions or families, of the rise of one family, or the fall of another. Pul seems to have been the father of Sardanapalus^t; Tiglath-Pileser was Arbaces, who, in confederacy with Belesis, overthrew the empire of Pul, in the days of his son Sardanapalus^u; and Tiglath-Pileser was not king of such large dominions as Pul and Sardanapalus commanded; but the

^a 1 Chron. v, ver. 26; 2 Kings xv, 19; Usher's Chronol.

^r See Prideaux's Connect. vol. i, book 1.

^s Id. *ibid*.

^t See Usher's Chron.

^u Prideaux, Connect. *ubi sup*.

sacred writers take no notice of these revolutions. Pul had his residence at Nineveh, in Assyria, and Tiglath-Pileser made that city his royal seat^x; for which reason they are both called in Scripture kings of Assyria; and upon the same account the successors of Tiglath-Pileser have the same title, until the empire was removed to Babylon. Salmanezer, the son of Tiglath-Pileser, is called king of Assyria^y; and so is Sargon, or Sennacherib^z; Esarhaddon, though he was king of Babylon as well as of Assyria^a, is called, in Scripture, king of Assyria, for in that country was his seat of residence^b; but after Nabopolassar destroyed Nineveh, and removed the empire to Babylon, the kings of it are called in Scripture kings of Babylon, and not kings of Assyria, though Assyria was part of their dominions, as Babylon and the adjacent country had been of many of the Assyrian kings. There were great turns and revolutions in the kingdoms of these countries, from the death of Sardanapalus to the esta-

^x Prideaux's Connect. vol. i, book i.

^y 2 Kings xvii, 5.

^z Isaiah xx, 1.

^a See Prideaux's Connect. vol. i, b. i, note in p. 42.

^b Ezra iv, 2.

blishment of Nebuchadnezzar's empire; but the sacred history does not pursue a narration of these matters; for as the writers of it called the kings of the ancient Assyrian empire kings of Elam when they resided there^c, kings of Nineveh^d, or of Assyria, when they lived in that city or country^e; so they call the several kings, which arose after the fall of Sardanapalus's empire, kings of the countries where they held their residence; and all that can fairly be deduced from the words of Nehemiah is, that the troubles of the Jews began, whilst there were kings reigning in Assyria, that is, before the empire of these countries was removed to Babylon.

4. "Sesac and Memnon (says our learned author) were great conquerors, and reigned over Chaldea, Assyria, and Persia; but in their histories there is not a word of any opposition made to them by an Assyrian empire then standing. On the contrary, Susiana, Media, Persia, Bactria, Armenia, Cappadocia, &c. were conquered by them, and continued subject to the kings of Egypt, till after the long reign of Ramesses, the son

^c Gen. xiv, 1.

^d Jonah iii, 6.

^e 1 Chron. v, 26.

of Memnon." This objection, in its full strength, is, that the Egyptians conquered and possessed the very countries which were in the heart of the supposed Assyrian empire, in the times when that empire is supposed to have flourished; and therefore certainly there was in those days no such empire. I answer, 1. The Egyptians made no great conquests until the times of Sesac, in the reign of Rehoboam, about A. M. 3033, about two hundred years before Sardanapalus. This Sesac was their famous Sesostris^f. I am sensible, that there have been many very learned writers, who have thought otherwise. Agathias supposed Sesostris to be long before Ninus and Semiramis^g; and the Scholiast^h upon Apollonius sets him two thousand nine hundred years before the first Olympiad; but the current opinion of the learned has not gone into this fabulous antiquity. Aristotle thought him long before the times of Minosⁱ; Strabo, Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus all represent him as having lived before the Trojan war;

^f Marsham. Can. Chron. p. 358.

^g Lib. ii, p. 55; see Prideaux, Not. Histor. in Chron. Marm. Ep. 9.

^h Id. *ibid*.

ⁱ Politic. l. vii, c. 10.

and Eusebius and Theophilus, from a hint of Manetho in Josephus^k, supposed him to be brother of Armais or Danaus, “*quam vere nescio*,” says the most learned Dean Prideaux^l. Indeed, there are no prevalent reasons to admit of this relation; however, the sentiments of all these writers may not differ from one another, but Sesostris may consistently with all of them be supposed to have lived about the time when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, which I think has been the common opinion. But if we look into the Egyptian antiquities, and examine the particulars, as collected by Diodorus, we shall find great reason not to think him thus early. Diodorus Siculus informs us, that there were fifty-two successive kings after Menes or Mizraim, before Busiris came to the crown^m. Busiris had eight successors, the last of whom was Busiris the Secondⁿ. Twelve generations or descents after him reigned Myris^o, and seven after Myris, Sesostris^p; so that, according to this computation, Sesostris was about eighty succesions

^k Lib. i, contr. Apion.

^m Diodor. lib. i, p. 29.

^o Id. p. 33.

^l Ubi sup.

ⁿ Id. *ibid*.

^p Id. p. 34.

after Menes or Mizraim. Diodorus must indeed have made a mistake in this computation ; for from the death of Menes, A. M. 1943^a, to Sesac, about A. M. 3033, are but one thousand and ninety years ; and fifty-five successions may very well carry us down thus far, as may appear from Sir John Marsham's Tables of the Kings of Egypt. The ancient Egyptian writers are known to have lengthened their antiquities, by supposing all their kings to have reigned successively, when many of them were contemporaries, and reigned over different parts of the country, in the same age. Undoubtedly Diodorus Siculus was imposed upon by some accounts of this sort, for there were not really so many successions, as he imagined, between Mizraim and Sesostris. But then there is a particular suggested by him, which must fully convince us, that his computation cannot be so reduced as to place Sesostris about the time of Moses. He observes, that after the time of Menes, one thousand four hundred years passed before the Egyptians performed any considerable actions worth recording^r. The

^a See vol. i, b. iv, p. 187.

^r Diodor. p. 29,

number one thousand four hundred is indeed thought to be a mistake. Rhodomanus corrects it in the margin, and writes one thousand and forty. We will take this number: from the death of Mizraim one thousand and forty years will carry us down very near to the time of Sesac; for fifty years after it, Sesac came against Jerusalem. Thus, according to this account, they had no famous warrior until about the time of Sesac; therefore Sesostris did not live earlier. I might confirm this account from another very remarkable particular in Diodorus Siculus. He tells us of a most excellent king of Egypt, begotten by the river Nile in the shape of a bull^s. I may venture to reject the fable of the river and the bull, and suppose this person to be the son of Phruron or Nilus; his father's name being Nilus might occasion the mythologists to say, that he was begotten by the river. Now Dicæarchus informs us, that this Nilus reigned about four hundred and thirty-six years before the first Olympiad, *i. e.* about A. M. 2792^t, about which time Sir John Marsham places him^u. According to Diodorus, Sesos-

^s Diodor. p. 33.

^t Vid. vol. i. b. iv, p. 186.

^u Vid. *ibid.*

tris was twenty successions after this Nilus, and Sir John Marsham makes his Sesac to be nineteen ; so that in all probability they were one and the same person. Thus a strict view of the Egyptian antiquities will, from several concurrent hints, oblige us to think that Sesostris was not earlier than the times of, and consequently was, the Sesac mentioned in the Scripture. I might add, that the sacred writers, who frequently mention the Egyptians from Abraham's time down to the time of this Sesac, give us great reason to think that the Egyptians had no such famous conqueror as Sesostris before Sesac ; by giving as great a proof as we can expect of a negative, that they made no conquests in Asia before his days. In the time of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph, we have no appearance of any thing but peace between Egypt and its Asiatic neighbours. Egypt was conquered by the Pastors, who came out of Asia a little before the birth of Moses, when the new king arose who knew not Joseph. Whatever power and strength these new kings might have acquired at the exit of the Israelites, must be supposed to be greatly broken by the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea. The Egyp-

tians had no part in the wars of the Canaanites with Joshua; nor in those of the Philistines, Midianites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Amalekites, against Israel, in the time of the Judges, or of Saul, or of king David. Solomon *reigned over all the kings from the river* (i. e. from the Euphrates) *unto the land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt*^x; so that no Egyptian conqueror came this way until after his death. *In the fifth year of Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem with twelve hundred chariots and threescore thousand horsemen; and he took the fenced cities, which pertained to Judah, and came to Jerusalem*^y; and the Israelites were obliged to become his servants. Sesac conquered not only them, but the neighbouring nations; for the Jews in serving him felt only *the service of the kingdoms of the countries*^z round about them; that is, all the neighbouring nations underwent the same. This therefore was the first Egyptian conqueror who came into Asia, and we must either think this Sesac and Sesostris to have been the same person, or, which was per-

^x 2 Chron. ix, 26.

^y 2 Chron, xii, 2, 3.

^z Ver. 8.

haps the opinion of Josephus^a, say, that Sesostris was no conqueror; but that Herodotus and the other historians through mistake ascribed^b to him what they found recorded of Sesac. Josephus represents Herodotus to have made two mistakes about this Egyptian conqueror, one in misnaming him, calling him Sesostris, when his real name was Sesac; the other, in thinking him a greater conqueror than he really was^c: and this mistake many of the historians have indeed made in the accounts which they give of him. 2. For neither Sesostris nor Sesac did ever conquer so many nations, as the historians represent; nor were they ever masters of any of those countries, which were a part of the Assyrian empire. Diodorus Siculus indeed supposes, that Sesostris conquered all Asia, not only all the nations, which Alexander afterwards subdued, but even many kingdoms which he never attempted; that he passed the Ganges, and conquered all

^a Antiq. Jud. l. viii, c. 10.

^b Σεσακον· περι ε πλανηθεις Ἡροδοτος τας πραξεις αὐτα Σεσωρει προσαπτει. Id. *ibid*.

^c Μεμνηται δε ταυτης της στρατειας και ο Ἀλικαρνασσευς Ἡροδοτος, περι μονον το τε βασιλεως πλανηθεις ονομα και οτι αλλοις τε πολλοις επηλθε εθνεσι, και την Παλαισινην Συριαν εδωλωσατο. Id. *ibid*.

India; that he subjugated the Scythians, and extended his conquest into Europe^d; and Strabo agrees with Diodorus in this account. What authority these great writers found for their opinion, I cannot say; but I find the learned annotator upon Tacitus did not believe any such accounts to be well grounded. In his note upon Germanicus's relation of the Egyptian conquests, he says, *De hac tanta potentia Ægyptiorum nihil legi, nec facile credam*^e; and indeed there is nothing to be read, which can seem well supported, nothing consistent with the allowed history of other nations, to represent the Egyptians as having ever obtained such extensive conquests. Herodotus confines the expedition of Sesostris to the nations upon the Asiatic coasts of the Red Sea; and after his return from subduing them, to the western parts of the continent of Asia. He represents him as having subdued Palestine and Phœnicia, and the kingdoms up to Europe; thence passing over to the Thracians; and from them to the Scythians, and coming to the river Phasis. Here he supposes that he stopped his progress, and returned back from hence to

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. i, p. 35.

^e Lipsii Comment. ad Tacit. Annal. l. ii, n. 137.

Egypt^f. Herodotus appears to have examined the expedition of Sesostris with far more exactness than Strabo or Diodorus. He inquired after the monuments or pillars, which Sesostris set up in the nations he subdued^g; but it no way appears from his accounts, that this mighty conqueror attacked any one nation, which was really a part of the Assyrian empire; but rather the course of his enterprises led him quite away from the Assyrian dominions. Sesostris did great things, but they have been greatly magnified. The ancient writers were very apt to record a person as having travelled over the whole world, if he had been in a few different nations. Abraham travelled from Chaldea into Mesopotamia, into Canaan, Philistia, and Egypt; the profane writers, speaking of him under the name of Chronus, say he travelled over the whole world^b. Thus the Egyptians might record of Sesostris, that he conquered the whole world; and the historians, who took the hints of what they wrote from them, might, to embellish their history, give us what they

^f Herodot. lib. ii, c. 102, 103.

^g Id. *ibid*.

^b See Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. i, c. 10.

thought the most considerable parts of the world, and thereby magnify the conquests of Sesostris far above the truth. But Herodotus seems in this point to have been more careful; for he examined particulars, and, according to the utmost of what he could find, none of the victories of this Egyptian conqueror reached to any of the nations subject to the Assyrians. Sir Isaac Newton mentions Memnon as another Egyptian conqueror, who possessed Chaldea, Assyria, Media, Persia, and Bactria, &c., so that it may be thought that some successor of Sesostris (for before him the Egyptians had no conquerors) subdued and reigned over these countries. I shall therefore, 3. Give a short abstract of the Egyptian affairs from Sesac, until Nebuchadnezzar took entirely away from them all their acquisitions in Asia. At the death of Sesac the Egyptian power sunk at once, and they lost all the foreign nations which Sesac had conquered. Herodotus informs us, that Sesostris was the only king of Egypt, who reigned over the Ethiopiansⁱ; and agreeably hereto we find that, when Asa was king of Judah, about A. M. 3063^k,

ⁱ Herodot. lib. ii, c. 110.

^k Usher's Chronol.

about thirty years after Sesostris or Sesac's conquests, the Ethiopians¹ were not only free from their subjection to the Egyptians, but were grown up into a state of great power; for Zerah their king invaded Judea *with a host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots*^m. Our great author says, that Ethiopia served Egypt until the death of Sesostris and no longer; that at the death of Sesostris Egypt fell into civil wars, and was invaded by the Libyans, and defended by the Ethiopians for some time; but that in about ten years the Ethiopians invaded the Egyptians, slew their king, and seized his kingdomⁿ. It is certain, that the Egyptian empire was at this time demolished; the Ethiopians were free from it, and if we look into Palestine we shall not find reason to suppose that the Egyptians had the service of any nation there, from this time for many years. Neither Asa, king of Judah, nor Baasha, king of Israel, had any dependence upon Egypt, when they warred against^o each other; and

¹ The Hebrew word is the Cushites, it should have been translated the Arabians. See vol. i, b. iii, p. 117.

^m 2 Chron. xiv, 9.

ⁿ Newton's Chron. p. 236.

^o 1 Kings xv, 16.

Syria was in a flourishing and independent state, when Asa sought an alliance with Benhadad. About A. M. 3116, about eighty-three years after Sesac, we find Egypt still in a low state, the Philistines were independent of them ; for they joined with the Arabians and distressed Jehoram^p. About one hundred and seventeen years after Sesac, when the Syrians besieged Samaria^q, it may be thought that the Egyptians were growing powerful again ; for the Syrians raised their siege, upon a rumour that the king of Israel had hired the kings of the Hittites and of the Egyptians to come upon them^r. The Egyptians were perhaps, by this time, getting out of their difficulties ; but they were not yet grown very formidable, for the Syrians were not terrified at the apprehension of the Egyptian power, but of the kings of the Hittites and the Egyptians joined together. From this time the Egyptians began to rise again ; and when Sennacherib sent Rabshakeh against Jerusalem^s about A. M. 3292, the king of Israel thought an alliance with Egypt might have been sufficient to protect

^p 2 Chron. xxi, 16.

^r 2 Kings vii, 6.

^q 2 Kings vi, 24.

^s 2 Kings xviii, 17.

him against the Assyrian invasions^t; but the king of Assyria made war upon the Egyptians, and rendered them *a bruised reed*^u, not able to assist their allies, and greatly brake and reduced their power^x; so that whatever the empire of Egypt was in those days, there was an Assyrian empire now standing able to check it. In the days of Josiah, about A. M. 3394, the Egyptian empire was revived again. Necho king of Egypt went and fought against Carchemish by Euphrates^y, and in his return to Egypt put down Jehoahaz, who was made king in Jerusalem upon Josiah's death, and condemned the land of the Jews to pay him a tribute, and carried Jehoahaz captive into Egypt, and made Eliakim, whom he named Jehoiakim, king over Judah and Jerusalem^z. But here we meet a final period put to all the Egyptian victories; for Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up against Jehoiakim, and bound him in fetters, and carried him to Babylon, and made Zedekiah his brother

^t Prideaux, Connect. vol. i.

^u 2 Kings xviii, 21.

^x Prideaux, ubi sup.

^y 2 Kings xxiii, 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

^z 2 Chron. xxxvi, 3, 4.

king over Judah and Jerusalem^a; and the king of Babylon took from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt, and the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his own land^b. Whatever the empire of Egypt over any parts of Asia had been, here it ended, about A. M. 3399^c, about three hundred and sixty-six years after its first rise under Sesac. Its nearest approach upon the dominions of Assyria appears to have been the taking of Carchemish, but even here it went not over the Euphrates; however, upon this approach, Nebuchadnezzar saw the necessity of reducing it, and in a few years' war stripped it entirely of all its acquisitions. This is the history of the empire of the Egyptians, and I submit it to the reader, whether any argument can be formed from it against the being of the ancient empire of the Assyrians.

5. Sir Isaac Newton contends, that there was no ancient Assyrian empire, because none of the kingdoms of Israel, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Philistia, Zidon, Damascus, and Hamath, were subject to the Assyrians until

^a 2 Chron. xxxvi, 10.

^b 2 Kings xxiv, 7.

^c Usher's Annal.

the days of Pul^d. I answer: the profane historians have indeed represented this Assyrian empire to be of far larger extent than it really was. They say that Ninus conquered Asia, which might more easily be admitted, if they would take care to describe Asia such as it was, when he conquered it. It does not appear, that he conquered all this quarter of the world; however, as he subdued most of the kingdoms then in it, he might in general be said to have conquered Asia. All the writers, who have contended for this empire, agree that Ninus and Semiramis were the founders of it^e; and they are farther unanimous, that the successors of Semiramis did not make any considerable attempts to enlarge the empire, beyond what she and Ninus had made it^f. Semiramis employed her armies in the eastern countries^g; so that we have no reason to think that this empire extended

^d Newton's Chron. p. 269.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. ii; Justin, lib. i.

^f Id. *ibid*. What Justin says of Ninyas may be applied to his successors for many generations; "*contenti a parentibus elaborato imperio belli studia deposuerunt.*"

^g Id. *ibid*.

westward any, or but a little way, farther than Ninus carried it. We read indeed that the king of Elam had the five cities on the borders of Canaan subject to him^h; but upon Abraham's defeating his army he lost them, and never recovered them again. But I would observe, that even whilst he had the dominion of these cities, in the full stretch of his empire, it did not reach to the kingdoms of Israel, or which then were the kingdoms of Canaan; for he never came any farther than to the five cities; neither was he master of Philistia, for that was farther westward; nor does he appear to have come near to Sidon. As to the other kingdoms mentioned by our learned author, namely, the kingdoms of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, and Hamath, they were not in being in those times. Moab and Ammon were the sons of Lot, and were not born until after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrahⁱ: and the countries, which were planted by them and their descendants, could not be planted by them until many years after this time. The Emims dwelt in these

^h Gen. xiv.

ⁱ Chap. xix, 37, 38.

countries in those days^k, and Chedorlaomer subdued them^l; but as he lost all these countries upon Abraham's routing his forces, so I apprehend that he never recovered them again. The Emims after this lived unmolested, until in after-times the children of Lot conquered them, and got the possession of their country^m; at which time the Assyrians had nothing to do in these parts. The same is to be said of Edom; the Horites were the ancient inhabitants of this landⁿ, and Chedorlaomer smote them in their mount Seir^o; but as he lost his dominion over these nations, so the Horites or Horims grew strong again, until the children of Esau conquered them^p; and the Assyrians were not masters of this country until later ages. As to Damascus, the heathen writers thought that Abraham first made a plantation there^q; probably it was planted in his times. The Syrians had grown up to two nations in David's time, and were conquered by him^r. In

^k Deut. ii, 10.^l Gen. xiv, 5.^m Deut. ii, 9; Gen. xix, 37, 38.ⁿ Deut. ii, 12;^o Gen. xiv, 6.^p Deut. ii, 12.^q Damascenus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. i, c. 8.^r 2 Samuel viii, 6, 13.

the decline of Solomon's reign, Rezon made Syria an independent kingdom again^s, and Damascus became its capital city^t; and in Ahab's time it was grown so powerful, that Benhadad the king of it had thirty and two kings in his army^u; yet all this time Syria and all its dependants were not subject to the kings of Assyria. In the time of Ahaz, when Rezon was king, Tiglath-Pileser conquered him, took Damascus, captivated its inhabitants, and put an end to the kingdom of Syria^x; but before this, neither he nor his predecessors appear to have had any command in these countries. God gave by promise to the seed of Abraham all the land from the river of Egypt to the river Euphrates^y, and Solomon came into the full possession of it^z; but neither he nor his fathers had any wars with the kings of Assyria; so that we must conclude that the king of Assyria's dominions reached no farther than to that river. When Chedorlaomer invaded Canaan, the world was thin of people, and the nations planted in it were, comparatively speaking, few, and all that

^s 1 Kings xi, 23, 24, 25.

^u 1 Kings xx, 1.

^y Gen. xv, 18, &c.

^t Ibid; Isaiah vii, 8.

^x 2 Kings xvi, 5, &c.

^z 2 Chron. ix, 26.

large tract between the nations which he came to conquer, and the Euphrates, was not inhabited; for we find that his auxiliaries, who came with him, lived all in and near the land of Shinaar. There were no intermediate nations; for if there had been any, he would have brought their united strength with him. Now, this agrees with the description of the land between the river of Egypt and Euphrates in the promise to Abraham^a; wherein the nations inhabiting in and near Canaan are enumerated; but except these there were no other. Agreeably to this, when Jacob travelled from Canaan to the land of Haran^b, and afterwards returned with a large family from Laban into Canaan^c, we do not read that he passed through many nations, but rather overrun uninhabited countries; so that the kingdoms near Canaan which served Chedorlaomer were in his time the next to the kingdoms on or near the Euphrates. Therefore, when he lost the service of these nations, his empire extended no farther than that river; and his successors not enlarging their empire, all the country between Pa-

^a Gen. xv, 18—21.

^b Chap. xxviii; xxix.

^c Chap. xxxi.

lestine and Euphrates, though after these days many nations were planted in it, was not a part of the Assyrian empire, until in after-times the Assyrian, and after them the Babylonian kings, by new conquests, extended their empire farther than ever their predecessors had done. When the ancient Assyrian empire was dissolved, on the death of Sardanapalus, the dominions belonging to it were divided between the two commanders, who subverted it; Arbaces the governor of Media, and Belesis governor of Babylon. Belesis had Babylon and Chaldea, and Arbaces had all the rest^d. Arbaces is in Scripture called Tiglath-Pileser, and the nations of which he became master were Assyria and the eastern provinces, the kingdoms of Elam and Media; for hither he sent his captives when he conquered Syria^e; therefore these countries thus divided were the whole of the ancient empire of the Assyrians. Thus our learned author's argument does in nowise prove, that there was no ancient Assyrian empire; for it only intimates, what may be abundantly proved to be true, that the profane histo-

^d Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, book i.

^e Id. *ibid*; 2 Kings xvii, 6.

rians supposed many countries to be a part of it, which really were not. They were not accurate in the particulars of their history; they reported that the armies of Semiramis were vastly more numerous than they really were; but we must not thence infer, that she raised no armies at all. They took their dimensions of the Assyrian empire from what was afterwards the extent of the Babylonian or Persian; but though they thus surprisingly magnified it, yet we cannot conclude that there was no such empire, from their having misrepresented its grandeur and extent.

Some particulars are suggested by our great and learned author, which, though they do not directly fall under the argument which I have considered, may yet be here mentioned. Sir Isaac Newton remarks, 1. That “the land of Haran, mentioned Gen. xi, was not under the Assyrian^f.” I answer; when the Chaldeans expelled Terah and his family from their land for not serving their gods^g, they removed about one hundred miles up the country, towards the North-west. Now the earth was not then so

^f Newton’s Chronol. p. 269.

^g Judith v, 8.

full of inhabitants, but that they here found a tract of land distant from all other plantations; and living here within themselves upon their pasturage and tillage, and having no business with distant nations, no one interrupted their quiet. The territories of the Chaldees reached most probably but a little way from Ur; for kingdoms were but small in these times. Terah's family lived far from their borders and plantations, and that gave them the peace which they enjoyed. But, 2, "In the time of the Judges of Israel, Mesopotamia was under its own king^h." I answer, so was Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Zoar, in the days of Abraham; yet all the kings of these cities had served Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, twelve yearsⁱ. But it may be said, Chushanrishithaim the king of Mesopotamia warred against^k, and enslaved the Israelites, and therefore does not seem to have been himself subject to a foreign power. To this it may be replied: the princes, who were subject to the Assyrian empire, were altogether kings^l in their own countries, for they made war and peace with other nations,

^h Newton, p. 269.

ⁱ Gen. xiv, 4.

^k Judges iii, ver. 8,

^l Isaiah x, ver. 8,

not under the protection of the Assyrians, as they pleased, and were not controlled, if they paid the annual tribute or service required from them. But 3. “When Jonah prophesied, Nineveh contained only about one hundred and twenty thousand persons.” I answer; when Jonah prophesied, Nineveh contained more than one hundred and twenty thousand persons, that could not discern between their right hand and their left^m; for there were thus many children not grown up to years of discretion; how far more numerous then were all the persons in it? A city so exceeding populous must surely be the head of a very large empire in these days. But, “the king of Nineveh was not yet called king of Assyria, but king of Nineveh only.” I answer, Chedorlaomer is called in Scripture only king of Elamⁿ, though nations about nine hundred miles distant from that city were subject to him; for so far we must compute from Elam to Canaan. But, “the fast kept to avert the threatenings of the prophet was not published in several nations, nor in all Assyria, but only in Nine-

^m Jonah iv, ver. 11,

ⁿ Gen. xiv, 1.

veh°." I answer, the Ninevites and their king only fasted because the threatenings of Jonah were not against Assyria, nor against the nations that served the king of Nineveh, but against the city of Nineveh only^p. But, 4. "Homer does not mention, and therefore knew nothing of, an Assyrian empire^q." If I were to consider at large how little the Assyrian empire extended towards those nations, with which Homer was concerned, it would be no wonder that he did not mention this empire in his account of the Trojan war, or travels of Ulysses; yet since it can in nowise be concluded that Homer knew no kingdoms in the world, but what he mentioned in his poems, I think I need not enlarge much in answer to this objection.

There is one objection more of our learned author which ought more carefully to be examined; for,

6. He contends, that "the Assyrians were a people^r no ways considerable, when Amos prophesied in the reign of Jeroboam, the son of Joash, about ten or twenty years before the reign of Pul; for God then

° Newton's Chron. p. 270.

^p Jonah iii.

^q Newton's Chron. p. 270.

^r Ibid. p. 271.

threatened to raise up a nation against Israel. The nation here intended was the Assyrian, but it is not once named in all the book of Amos. In the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Zechariah, after the empire was grown up, it is openly named upon all occasions. But as Amos names not the Assyrians in all his prophecy; so it seems most probable, that the Assyrians made no great figure in his days; they were to be raised up against Israel after he prophesied. The true import of the Hebrew word, which we translate raise up, expresses, that God would raise up the Assyrians from a condition lower than the Israelites, to a state of power superior to them; but since the Assyrians were not in this superior state when Amos prophesied, it must be allowed, that the Assyrian empire began and grew up after the days of Amos." This is the argument in its full strength: my answer to it is; the nation intended in the prophecy of Amos was not the then Assyrian, I mean not the Assyrian, which flourished and was powerful in the days of Amos. Sir Isaac Newton says, that Amos prophesied ten years before the reign of Pul. Pul was the father of

Sardanapalus^s; therefore the Assyrian king, in whose reign Amos prophesied, was probably the grandfather of Sardanapalus; but it was not any of the descendants of these kings, nor any of the possessors of their empire, who were to afflict the Jews. Their empire was to be dissolved; and we find it was so on the death of Sardanapalus, and a new empire was to be raised on its ruins, which was to grow from small beginnings to great power. Tiglath-Pileser, who had been deputy-governor of Media, under Sardanapalus, was raised first to be king of part of the dominions which had belonged to the Assyrian empire; and some time after his rise, he conquered Syria, took Damascus, and reduced all that kingdom under his dominion. Thus he began to fulfil the prophecy of Amos, and to afflict the Jews from the entering in of Hamath^t; for Hamath was a country near Damascus, and here he began his invasions of their land^u; some time after this he seized all that belonged to Israel beyond Jordan, and went forward towards Jerusalem, and brought Ahaz under tribute. After the death of Tiglath-Pileser,

^s Usher's Chronol.

^t Amos vi, 14,

^u Prideaux's Connect. vol. i, b. i.

his son Salmanezer conquered Samaria; and after him Sennacherib took several of the fenced cities of Judah, laid siege to Lachish, threatened Jerusalem, and reduced Hezekiah to pay him tribute, and marched through the land against Egypt. Under him the prophecy of Amos may be said to have been completed, and the affliction of the Israelites carried on to the river of the Wilderness^x, *i. e.* to the river Sihor at the entrance of Egypt on the Wilderness of Etham. Thus the Israelites were indeed greatly afflicted by the kings of the Assyrian empire; but not by kings of that Assyrian empire which flourished in the days of Amos, but of another empire of Assyria, which was raised up after his days, upon the ruins and dissolution of the former. The whole strength of our great author's argument lies in this fallacy. He supposes what is the point to be proved; namely, that there was but one Assyrian empire, and so concludes from Amos's having intimated that an Assyrian empire should be raised after his time, that there was no Assyrian empire in and before his time; whereas the truth is, there were

^x Amos, ubi sup.

two Assyrian empires, different from each other, not only in the times of their rise and continuance, but in the extent of their dominions, and the countries which were subject to them. The former began at Ninus, and ended at the death of Sardanapalus; the latter began at Tiglath-Pileser, and ended about one hundred and thirty-five years after, at the destruction of Nineveh by Nabopolassar^y. The former empire commanded Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Media, and the eastern nations toward India; the latter empire began at Nineveh, reduced Assyria, and extended itself into Media and Persia, then conquered Samaria, Syria, and Palestine, and afterwards subdued Babylon also, and the kingdoms belonging to it^z.

Our learned author has observed the conquests obtained over divers nations by the kings of Assyria. He remarks from Sennacherib's boast to the Jews^a, that these conquests were obtained by Sennacherib and his fathers. He represents Sennacherib's fathers to have been Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, and Shalmanezar; and says, that these kings were great conquerors, who with a

^y Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, b. i.

^z Prideaux, ubi sup.

^a 2 Kings xix, 11.

current of victories had newly overflowed all nations round about Assyria, and hereby set up this monarchy^b. I answer; Pul was not an ancestor of Sennacherib; he was of another family, king of a different empire from that which the fathers of Sennacherib erected. Pul was the father of Sardanapalus^c: Tiglath-Pileser, the grandfather of Sennacherib, ruined Sardanapalus, the son of Pul, got possession of his royal city, and part of his dominions; and he and his posterity erected upon this foundation a far greater empire than Pul had ever been in possession of. 2. Pul conquered none of the countries mentioned by Sennacherib, as having been subdued by him and his fathers. Pul is, I think, mentioned but twice by the sacred historians. We are told that God *stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria*^d, and we are informed what Pul did^e. He came against the land of Israel, when Menahem the son of Gadi had gotten the kingdom; and Menahem gave him a thousand talents of silver, so Pul turned back and

^b Newton, p. 273 — 277.

^c Usher's Chron.

^d 1 Chron. v, 26.

^e 2 Kings xv, 19.

stayed not in the land^f. Our great and learned author says, that Pul was a great warrior, and seems to have conquered Haran and Carchemish, and Reseph, and Calneh, and Thelassar, and might found or enlarge the city of Babylon, and build the old palace^g. I answer; Pul made the expedition above mentioned, but he was bought off from prosecuting it; and we have no one proof that he conquered any one kingdom upon the face of the earth. He enjoyed those dominions which his ancestors had left him, and transmitted them to his son or successor Sardanapalus; therefore, 3. All the fresh victories obtained by the kings of Assyria, by which they appear after these times to have conquered so many lands, began at Tiglath-Pileser, and were obtained by him and his successors, after the dissolution of the ancient Assyrian empire. The hints we have of them, indeed, prove, that a great monarchy was raised in these days, by the kings of Assyria; but they do not prove that there had been no Assyrian empire before. The ancient As-

^f 2 Kings xv, 20.

^g Newton, p. 278.

syrian empire was broken down about this time, and its dominions divided amongst those, who had conspired against the kings of it. Tiglath-Pileser got Nineveh, and he and his successors by degrees, and by a current of new victories, subdued kingdom after kingdom, and in time raised a more extensive Assyrian empire than the former had been.

From a general view of what both Sir Isaac Newton and Sir John Marsham have offered about the Assyrian monarchy, it may be thought, that the sacred and profane history differ irreconcilably about it; but certainly the sacred writers did not design to enter so far into the history of the Assyrian empire, its rise or dominions, as these great and most learned authors are desirous to represent. The books of the Old Testament are chiefly confined to the Jews and their affairs; and we have little mention in them of other nations, any farther than the Jews happened to be concerned with them; but the little we have is, if duly considered, capable of being brought to a strict agreement and

clear connection with the accounts of the profane historians, except in points wherein these have apparently exceeded or deviated from the truth. A romantic humour of magnifying ancient facts, buildings, wars, armies, and kingdoms, is what we must expect in their accounts; and if we make due allowance for it, we shall find in many points a greater coincidence of what they write, with what is hinted in Scripture, than one, who has not examined, would expect. The sacred history says, that Nimrod began a kingdom at Babel^b, and the time of his beginning it must be computed to be about A. M. 1757ⁱ. To this agrees in a remarkable manner the account which Callisthenes formed of the astronomical observations, which had been made at Babylon before Alexander took that city; who supposed them to reach one thousand nine hundred and three years backward from Alexander's coming thither; so that they began at A. M. 1771^k, about

^b Gen. x, ver. 10.

ⁱ See vol. i, b. iv, p. 161.

^k See vol. i, b. iv, p. 162.

fourteen years after the rise of Nimrod's kingdom. I have already remarked, that the writers, who deny the Babylonian antiquities, endeavour, as their hypothesis requires they should, to set aside this account of Callisthenes. Sir J. Marsham would prefer the accounts of Berosus or Epigenes before it¹, but to them I have already answered^m. Our illustrious author seems best pleased with what Diodorus Siculus relatesⁿ, "that when Alexander the Great was in Asia, the Chaldeans reckoned four hundred and seventy-three thousand years, since they first began to observe the stars^o." This I allow might be the boast of the Chaldeans; but I would observe from what Callisthenes reported, that a stranger, when admitted accurately to examine their accounts, could find no such thing. The ancients, before they computed the year by the Sun's motion, had many years of various lengths, calculated from divers estimates,

¹ Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 474.

^m See pref. to vol. i, p. xxxi.

ⁿ Lib. ii, p. 83.

^o Newton's Chron. p. 265.

and among the rest the Chaldeans are remarkable for having had years so short, that they imagined their ancient kings had lived or reigned above six, seven, or ten thousand of them^p. Something of a like nature might be the four hundred and seventy-three thousand years ascribed to their astronomy; and Callisthenes, upon reducing them to solar years, might judge they contained but one thousand nine hundred and three real years, and so conclude that their observations reached no farther backward. This seems the most probable account of those observations; and I think that our great author's inclination to his hypothesis was the only reason, which induced him to produce the four hundred and seventy-three thousand years of the Chaldeans, and to seem to intimate that Callisthenes's report of one thousand nine hundred and three reached only to a part of them^q, the largest number being most likely to make the Assyrian antiquities appear extravagant. The profane

^p See pref. to vol. i, p. xxiii; Euseb. in Chron.

^q Newton's Chron. p. 44.

historians generally carry up their kingdom of Assyria to Ninus^r, and Ninus reigned when Abraham was born^s. Now we are well assured from the Scriptures, that the Assyrian antiquities are not hereby carried up too high; for, in the time of Nimrod, Ashur erected a kingdom and built several cities in this country^t. The profane historians represent Ninus as having been a very great conqueror, and relate, that he subjected the Asiatic nations to his empire. The sacred history confirms this particular very remarkably; for it informs us, that the king of Elam, in the days of Abraham, had nations subject to his service, about eight or nine hundred miles distant from the city of his residence; for so far we must compute from Elam to the five cities, which served Chedorlaomer twelve years^u. We find from Scripture, that Chedorlaomer lost the obedience of these countries; and after Abraham's defeating his armies, until Tiglath Pileser, the Assyrian kings appear

^r See Diodor. Sic. l. ii; Justin. lib. i; Euseb. Chron.

^s Προοίμ. Euseb.

^t Gen. x. ver. 11.

^u Gen. xiv.

to have had no dominion over the nations between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates. This indeed seems to confine the Assyrian empire within narrower bounds, than can well agree with the accounts which the heathen writers give of it; but then it is remarkable, that these enlarged accounts come from hands comparatively modern. Diodorus informs us, that he took his from Ctesias^x: Ctesias might have the number of his ancient Assyrian kings, and the time or length of their reigns, from the Persian Chronicles^y; but as all writers have agreed to ascribe no great actions to any of them from after Ninus to Sardanapalus, so it appears most reasonable to suppose, that the Persian registries made but a very short mention of them; for ancient registries afforded but little history^z, and therefore I suspect that Ctesias's estimate of the ancient Assyrian grandeur was rather formed from what he knew to be true of the Persian empire, than taken from any authentic accounts of the ancient As-

^x Lib. ii.

^y Id. *ibid.*

^z See Gen. v, x, xi, xxxvi, &c,

syrian. The profane historians relate, that the Assyrian empire was broken down at the death of Sardanapalus; but the Jews having at this time no concern with the Assyrians, the sacred writers do not mention this great revolution. However, all the accounts in Scripture of the kings of Assyria, and of the kings of Babylon, which are subsequent to the times of Sardanapalus, will appear to be reconcileable to the supposition of such a subversion of this ancient empire, to any one who reads the first book of the most learned Dean Prideaux's *Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*.

I have now gone through what I proposed to offer at this time against Sir Isaac Newton's *Chronology*; and hope I shall not appear to have selected only two or three particulars out of many, such as I might easily reply to, omitting others more weighty and material; for I have considered the very points, which are the foundation of this new scheme, and which, if I have sufficiently answered, will leave me no very difficult task to defend my adhering to the

received chronology. If the argument formed from Chiron's constellations were stripped of its astronomical dress, a common reader might be able to judge, that it cannot serve the purpose for which it is alleged. If (as the most celebrated Dr. Halley represents) the ancient astronomers had done nothing which could be serviceable either to Hipparchus or Ptolomy, in their determination of the celestial motions; if even Thales could give but a rude account of the motion; if before Hipparchus there could scarce be said to be such a science as astronomy; how can it be supposed that Chiron, who most probably lived one thousand one hundred years before Hipparchus, and almost three thousand years ago, should have really left a most difficult point of astronomy so exactly calculated and adjusted, as to be a foundation for us now to overturn by it all the hitherto received chronology? If Chiron and all the Greeks before, and for six hundred years after his time, put together, could not tell when the year began, and when it ended, without mistaking above five days

and almost a quarter of a day in every year's computation; can it be possible for Chiron to have settled the exact time of mid-summer and mid-winter, of equal day and night in spring and autumn, with such a mathematical exactness, as that at this day we can depend upon a supposed calculation of his, to reject all that has hitherto been thought the true chronology? As to our illustrious author's argument from the length of reigns, I might have observed, that it is introduced upon a supposition, which can never be allowed, namely, that the ancient chronologers did not give us the several reigns of their kings, as they took them from authentic records; but that they made the length of them by artificial computations, calculated according to what they thought the reigns of such a number of kings, as they had to set down, would amount to at a medium one with another. This certainly never was fact; but, as Acusilaus, a most ancient historian mentioned by our most illustrious author^a,

^a Chronol. p. 46.

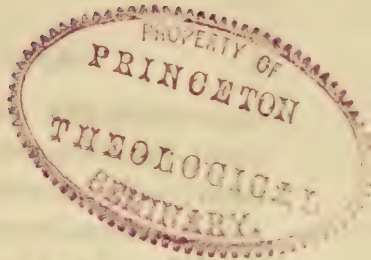
wrote his genealogies out of tables of brass; so it is by far most probable that all the other genealogists, who have given us the length of the lives or reigns of their kings or heroes, took their accounts either from monuments, stone pillars, or ancient inscriptions, or from other antiquaries of unsuspected fidelity, who had faithfully examined such originals. But as I had no occasion to pursue this fact, so I omitted mentioning it, thinking it would be sufficient to defend myself against our learned author's scheme, to show, that the length of the kings' reigns, which he supposed so much to exceed the course of nature, would not really appear to do so, if we consider what the Scriptures represent to be the length of men's lives and of generations in those ages, to which these reigns belong. As to the ancient empire of Assyria, I submit what I have offered about it to the reader.

After so large digressions upon these subjects, I cannot find room to enter upon the particulars which are contained in the following sheets. I wish none of them

may want a large apology; but that what I now offer the public may meet with the same favour, as my former volume; which if it does, I shall endeavour, as fast as the opportunities I have will enable me, and my other engagements permit, in two volumes more to finish the remaining parts of the undertaking.

SHELTON, NORFOLK,

Dec. 10, 1729.



THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

CONNECTED.

BOOK VI.

WHEN Abram was¹ entering into Egypt, he was full of thoughts of the evils which might befall him in a strange land; and considering the beauty of his wife, was afraid that the king, or some powerful person of the country, might fall in love with her, and kill him in order to marry her. He therefore desired her to call him brother. They had not been long in Egypt, before the beauty of Sarai was much talked of; she was therefore brought to court, and the king of Egypt had thoughts of marrying her: but in some time he found out that she was Abram's wife. Hereupon he sent for, and

¹ Gen. xii, 11.

expostulated with him the ill consequences which might have happened from the method he had taken; and generously restored Sarai, and suffered Abram to leave his country, and carry with him all that belonged to him. Abram's stay in Egypt was about three months. The part of Egypt where he travelled was the land of Tanis, or lower Egypt; for this bordered on Arabia and Philistia, from whence Abram had journeyed. His coming hither was about the tenth year of the fifth king of this country; for Menes, or Mizraim, being, as before said, king of all Egypt until A. M. 1943, and the reigns of the three next kings of Lower Egypt taking up (according to Sir John Marsham's tables) one hundred and thirty three years; the tenth year of their successor will carry us to A. M. 2086, in which year Abram came into Egypt².

Abram, after coming out of Egypt, returned into Canaan, and came to the place where he formerly first stopped³, between Bethel and Hai; and here he offered a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the happy events of his travels.

Lot and Abram had hitherto lived together; but by this time their substance was so much increased, that they found it inconvenient to be near one another. Their cattle⁴ mingled, their herdsmen quarrelled, and the land was not able to bear them; their stocks, when together, required a

² See vol. i, b. v.

³ Gen. xiii, 3.

⁴ Ver. 7.

larger tract of ground to feed and support them, than they could take up, without interfering with the property of the inhabitants of the land in which they sojourned. They agreed therefore to separate. The land of Canaan had spare room sufficient for Abram, and the plains of Jordan for Lot; therefore upon Lot's choosing to remove towards Jordan, Abram agreed to continue where he was, and thus they parted. After Lot was gone from him, GOD commanded Abram to lift up his eyes and view the country of Canaan⁵, promising that the whole of it should be given to his seed for ever, and that his descendants should exceedingly flourish and multiply in it. Soon after this Abram⁶ removed his tent, and dwelt in the plain of Mamre in Hebron, where he built an altar to the LORD. His settling at Mamre might be about A. M. 2091.

About this time Abram became instrumental of great service to the king, in whose dominions he sojourned. The Assyrian empire, as we have observed, had in these times extended itself over the adjacent and remote countries, and brought the little nations in Asia under tribute and subjection. The seat of this empire was at this time at Elam in Persia, and Chedorlaomer was king of it; for to him the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and of the three other nations mentioned by Moses⁷, had been in subjection. They had *served him twelve years, but in the thirteenth they rebelled*⁸.

⁵ Gen. xiii, 14.⁶ Ver. 18.⁷ Gen. xiv, 4.⁸ Ibid.

We meet nowhere in profane history the name Chedorlaomer, nor any names of the kings mentioned by Moses, as confederate with him; but I have formerly observed how this might 'be occasioned. Ctesias, from whom the profane historians took the names of these kings, did not use their original Assyrian names in his history; but rather such as he found in the Persian records, or what the Greek language offered instead of them.

If we consider about what time of Abram's life this affair happened (and we must place it about his eighty-fourth or eighty-fifth year⁹, *i. e.* A. M. 2093), we may easily see who was the supreme king of the Assyrian empire at the time here spoken of. Ninyas the son of Ninus and Semiramis began his reign A. M. 2059¹, and he reigned thirty-eight years², so that the year of this transaction falls four years before his death. Ninyas therefore was the Chedorlaomer of Moses, head of the Assyrian empire; and Amraphel was his deputy at Babylon in Shinaar, and Arioch and Tidal his deputies over some other adjacent countries. It is remarkable, that Ninus first appointed under him such deputies³, and there is no absurdity in Moses calling them kings; for it is observable, from what Isaiah hinted afterwards⁴, that the Assyrian boasted that his deputy princes were

⁹ *i. e.* about a year or two before the birth of Ishmael, who was born when Abram was eighty-six. Gen. xvi, 16.

¹ See vol. i, b. iv, p. 112.

² Euseb. in Chron. p. 18.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. ii, sec. 21.

⁴ Isaiah x, 8.

equal to royal governors ; *are not my princes altogether kings ?* The great care of kings in these ages was to build cities ; and thus we find almost every new king erecting a new seat of his empire. Ninus fixed at Nineveh, Semiramis at Babylon, and Ninyas at Elam ; and hence it happened in after-ages, that Ctesias, when he came to write the Assyrian antiquities, found the names of their ancient kings amongst the royal records of Persia ; which he could hardly have done, if some of their early monarchs had not had their residence in this country. Ninyas therefore was the Chedorlaomer of Moses ; and these kings of Canaan had been subject to him for twelve years. In the thirteenth year they endeavoured to recover their liberty ; but within a year after this their attempt (which is a space of time that must necessarily be supposed, before Chedorlaomer could hear at Elam of their revolt, and summon his deputies with an army to attend him), in the fourteenth year, the king of Elam with his deputy princes, the governor of Shinaar, and of Ellasar, and of the other nations subject to him, brought an army, and over-ran the kingdoms in and round about the land of Canaan. He subdued the Rephaims, who inhabited the land afterwards called the kingdom of Bashan, situate between Gilead and Hermon ; the Uzzims, between Arnon and Damascus ; the Emmims, who inhabited what was afterwards called the land of Ammon ; the Horites, from Mount Seir to El-paran ; then he subdued the Amalekites and the Amorites ; and

last of all came to a battle with the king of Sodom, the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Admah, the king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela or Zoar in the valley of Siddim, and obtained a complete and entire conquest over them. Lot, who at that time dwelt in Sodom, suffered in this action; for he and all his family and substance were taken by the enemy, and in great danger of being carried away into captivity, had not Abram very fortunately rescued him. The force which Abram could raise was but small; three hundred and eighteen trained servants being his whole retinue; yet with these he pursued the enemy unto Dan. We do not read that Abram attacked the whole Assyrian army; which, without doubt, would have been an attempt too great for the little company which he commanded; but coming up with them in the night⁵, he artfully divided his attendants into two companies, with one of which most probably he attacked those that were appointed to guard the captives and spoil; and with the other made the appearance of a force ready to attempt the whole body of the enemy. The Assyrians, surprised at finding a new enemy, and pretty much harassed with obtaining their numerous victories, and fatigued in their late battle, not knowing the strength which now attacked them, retired and fled. Abram pursued them unto Hobah on the left hand of Damascus⁶; and, being by that time master of

⁵ Gen. xiv, 15.

⁶ Ibid.

the prisoners and spoil, he did not think fit to press on any further, or to follow the enemy until daylight might discover the weakness of his forces : therefore he returned back, having rescued his brother Lot*, *and his goods, and the women, and the people*⁷ who were taken captive. We hear no more of the Assyrian army ; which most probably returned home, designing to be reinforced, and come another year sufficiently prepared to make a more complete conquest of the kingdoms of Canaan ; but Ninyas or Chedorlaomer dying soon after this, the new king might have other designs upon his hands, and so this might be neglected or laid aside. When Abram returned with the captives and the spoil, the king of Sodom and the king of Salem⁸ went out to meet him with great ceremony. Melchizedec, king of Salem, was the priest of the Most High God⁹ ; for which reason Abram gave him the tenth of the spoil. The remainder he returned to the king of Sodom, refusing to be himself a gainer by receiving any part of what this victorious enterprize had gotten him.

GOD ALMIGHTY continued his favour to Abram, and in divers and sundry manners, sometimes by the appearance of angels, at other times by audible voices or remarkable dreams, declared in what manner he designed to bless his posterity, and to raise them in the world. Abram at this time had

* Lot was the son of Haran, and nephew to Abraham. EDIT.

⁷ Gen. xiv, 16.

⁸ Ver. 17.

⁹ Ver. 18.

no son, but upon his desiring one, he received not only a promise of one, but was informed, that his posterity should be so numerous as to be compared to the very stars of the Heaven¹. Abram was so sincerely disposed to believe all the intimations and promises which GOD thought fit to give him, that it was *counted to him for righteousness*², that he obtained by it great favour and acceptance with GOD; so that GOD was pleased to give him a still further discovery of what should befall him and his descendants in future times. He was ordered to offer a solemn sacrifice³, and at the going down of the sun a deep sleep fell upon him, when it was revealed to him in a dream⁴, that he himself would die in peace in a good old age; but that his descendants would for four hundred years be strangers in a land not their own, would suffer hardships, and even bondage; but that after this, the nation which would oppress them should be severely punished, and that they would be brought out of all their difficulties in a very rich and flourishing condition, and that in the fourth generation they would return again into Canaan, and take possession of it; that they could not have it sooner, because *the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full*⁵. GOD ALMIGHTY could foresee, that the Amorites would by that time have run into such an excess of sin, as to deserve the severe

¹ Gen. xv, 5.² Ver. 6.³ Ver. 9.⁴ Ver. 12.⁵ Ver. 16.

expulsion from the land of Canaan, which was afterwards appointed for them; but he would in no wise order their punishment until they should have filled up the measure of their iniquities, so as to deserve it. After Abram awoke from this dream, a fire kindled miraculously⁶ and consumed his sacrifice; and GOD covenanted with him to give to his seed all the land of Canaan, from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates⁷.

Ten years after Abram's return into Canaan⁸, in the eighty-sixth year of his life, A. M. 2094⁹, he had a son by Hagar, Sarai's maid. Sarai herself had no children, and expecting never to have any, had given her maid to Abram to be his wife¹, to prevent his dying childless. Abram was exceedingly rejoiced at the birth of his son; and looked upon him as the heir promised him by GOD, who was to be the father of that numerous people who were to descend from him; but about thirteen years after Ishmael's birth (for so was the child named) GOD appeared unto Abram². The person who appeared to him called himself the ALMIGHTY GOD³, and can be conceived to be no other person than our Blessed Saviour⁴. As he afterwards thought fit to take upon him our flesh, and to dwell amongst the Jews⁵, in the manner related in the Gospels; so he appeared to their fathers in the

⁶ Gen. xv, 17, see vol. i, book v.

⁸ Chap. xvi, 3. ⁹ Ver. 16.

² Chap. xvii, ver. 1.

⁴ See vol. i, b. v.

⁷ Ver. 18.

¹ Ver. 3.

³ Ibid.

⁵ John i, 14.

form of an angel, in the first ages of the world, to reveal his will to them, as far as he then thought fit to have it imparted. In the first and most early days he took the name of GOD ALMIGHTY, by which name he was known to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob⁶; but afterwards he called himself by a name more fully expressing his essence and deity, and was known to Moses by the name JEHOVAH⁷.

GOD ALMIGHTY at this appearance unto Abram entered into covenant with him, promised him a son to be born of Sarai, repeated the promise of Canaan before made to him, and gave him fresh assurances of the favours and blessings designed for him and his posterity; but withal acquainted him that the descendants of the son whom Sarai should bear, should be heirs of the blessings promised to him. That Ishmael should, indeed, be a flourishing and happy man, that twelve princes should descend from him; but that the covenant made at this time should be established with Isaac, whom Sarai should bear about a year after the time of this promise. Abram's name was now changed into Abraham, and Sarai's into Sarah, and circumcision was enjoined him and his family⁸.

The same divine appearance (for Abraham called him the Judge of all the Earth⁹), accompanied by

⁶ Gen. xvii, 1; xxviii, 3; xxxv, 11; xlviii, 3; xlix, 25; Exodus vi, 3.

⁷ Exodus vi, 3, & iii, 14.

⁸ Gen. xvii, 10.

⁹ Gen. xviii, 25.

two angels, was some little time after this seen again by him in the plains of Mamre, as he sat at his tent door in the heat of the day. They came into Abraham's tent, and were entertained by him, and ate with him¹, and confirmed to him again the promise which had been made him of a son by Sarah; and after having spent some time with him, the two angels went towards Sodom²; but the Lord continued with Abraham, and told him how he designed to destroy in a most terrible manner that unrighteous city. Abraham was here so highly favoured as to have leave to commune with God, and was permitted to intercede for the men of Sodom³. As soon as the LORD had left communing with Abraham, he went his way, and Abraham returned to his place⁴. The two angels before-mentioned came to Sodom at even, made a visit to Lot, and staid in his house all night⁵; where a monstrous violence was offered them by the wicked inhabitants of Sodom; upon which they acquainted Lot on what account they had been sent thither; and after they had ordered him, his wife and children and all his family to leave the place, about the time of sun-rising, or a little after⁶, the LORD rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah, and upon some other cities in the plain, *fire and brimstone from the LORD out of heaven*⁷, and

¹ Gen. xviii, 8.² Ver. 16.³ Ver. 23, &c.⁴ Ver. 33.⁵ Chap. 19.⁶ Ver. 23.⁷ Gen. xix, 24.

wholly destroyed all the inhabitants. Lot's wife was unhappily lost in this calamity; whether she only looked back, contrary to the express command of the angel⁸, or whether it may be inferred from our Saviour's mentioning her⁹, that she actually turned back, being unwilling to leave Sodom, and to go and live at Zoar; GOD was pleased to make her a monument of his vengeance for her disobedience, and she was turned into a pillar of salt¹. Lot's sons-in-law, who had married his daughters, refused to go with him out of Sodom²; therefore they and their wives perished in the city. Two of his daughters, who lived with him³ and were unmarried⁴, went to Zoar, and were preserved. Lot lived at Zoar but a little while; being afraid that Zoar also might some time or other be destroyed⁵; therefore he retired with his two daughters, and lived in a cave upon a mountain, at a distance from all converse with the world. His daughters grew uneasy at this strange retirement, and thinking that they should both die unmarried, from their father's continuing resolved to go on in this course of life, and so their father's name and family become extinct⁶, they intrigued together, and imposing wine upon their father, went to bed to him⁷, and were with child by him, and had each a son, called Moab and Ammon. The two children grew

⁸ Gen. xix, 17.⁹ Luke xvii, 32.¹ Gen. xix, 26.² Ver. 14.³ Ver. 15.⁴ Ver. 8.⁵ Ver. 30.⁶ Ver. 31, 32.⁷ Ver. 33, 34, 35.

up, and in time came to have families; and from these two sons of Lot the Moabites and the Ammonites were descended.

About this time Abraham removed southward, and sojourned between Cadesh and Shur at Gerar, a city of the Philistines; where he pretended that Sarah was his sister⁸, as he had formerly done in Egypt; for he thought the Philistines were a wicked people. Abimelech the king of Philistia intended to take Sarah to be his wife; but it pleased GOD to inform him in a dream, that she belonged to Abraham. Abimelech appears to have been a man of eminent virtue, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah had made a deep impression upon him. He appealed to GOD, for the integrity of his heart, and the innocency of his intentions. He restored Sarah to her husband, and gave him sheep, oxen, men-servants and women-servants, and a thousand pieces of silver, and free liberty to live where he would in his kingdom, and reproved Sarah for concealing her being married. He told her, that if she had not disowned her husband, she would have been protected from any other person's fixing his eyes upon her to desire her. *He is to thee*, said he, *a covering of the eyes to, or of all that are with thee; and with all others*⁹, i. e. he shall cover or protect thee, from any of those, that are of thy family or acquaintance, or

⁸ Gen. xx, 2.

⁹ Ver, 16.

that are not, from looking at thee, to desire thee for their wife.

A year was now accomplished, and, A. M. 2108, a son was born of Sarah¹, and was circumcised on the eighth day, and named Isaac. When he grew old enough to be weaned, Abraham made a very extraordinary feast. Ishmael laughed at seeing such a stir made about this infant²; which so provoked Sarah, that she would have both him and his mother turned out of doors. Abraham had the tenderness of a father for his child³; he loved Ishmael, and was loth to part with him, and therefore applied himself to GOD for direction. GOD was pleased to assure him, that he would take care of Ishmael, and ordered him not to let his affection for either Hagar or her son prevent his doing what Sarah requested; intimating that Ishmael should for his sake be the parent of a nation of people; but that his portion and inheritance was not to be in that land, which was to be given to the descendants of Isaac⁴, and therefore that it was proper for him to be sent away, to receive the blessings designed him in another place. Abraham hereupon called Hagar, and gave her water and other necessary provisions, and ordered her to go away into the world from him, and to take her son with her; whereupon she went away, and wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba⁵.

¹ Gen. xxi, 2.

² Ver. 9.

³ Ver. 11.

⁴ Ver. 12, 13.

⁵ Ver. 14.

Some commentators are in pain about Abraham's character⁶ for his severity towards Hagar and Ishmael in the case before us. It may perhaps be thought, that the direction by God given in this particular may rather silence the objection, than answer the difficulties; but a little consideration will be sufficient to clear it. It would indeed, as the circumstances of the world now are, seem a very rigorous proceeding to send a woman into the wide world and a little child in arms, with only a bottle of water, and such a quantity of bread as she could carry out of a family where she had been long maintained in plenty, not to mention her having been a wife to the master of it. But it must be remarked, that though the ambiguity of our English translation, which seems to intimate, that Hagar when she went from Abraham took the child upon her shoulder⁷, and afterwards that she cast the child under one of the shrubs⁸, does indeed represent Hagar's circumstance as very calamitous; yet it is evident, that they were far from being so full of distress as this representation makes them. For, 1. Ishmael was not an infant at the time of their going from Abraham, but at least fifteen or sixteen years old. Ishmael was born when Abraham was eighty-six⁹, Isaac when he was a hundred¹; so that Ishmael was fourteen at the birth of Isaac, and Isaac was perhaps two years old when Sarah weaned him, therefore Ishmael might

⁶ Pool's Synopsis in loc.

⁷ Gen. xxi, 14.

⁸ Ver. 15.

⁹ Gen. xvi, 16.

¹ Gen. xxi, 5.

be sixteen when Abraham sent him and his mother away. Hagar therefore had not a little child to provide for, but a youth capable of being a comfort, and assistant to her. 2. The circumstances of the world were such at this time, that it was easy for any person to find a sufficient and comfortable livelihood in it. Mankind were so few, that there was in every country ground to spare; so that any one, who had flocks, and a family, might be permitted to settle any where, and feed and maintain them, and in a little time might grow and increase and become very wealthy. Besides, the creatures of the world were so numerous, that a person, who had no flocks or herds, might in the wild and uncultivated grounds kill enough of all sorts for maintenance, without injuring any one, or being molested for so doing. And thus Ishmael dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer². Again, they might let themselves for hire to those who had a great stock of cattle to look after, and find an easy and sufficient maintenance in their service; as good as Hagar and Ishmael had had even with Abraham. We see no reason to think that Hagar met with many difficulties in providing for herself, or her son. In a few years she saw him in so comfortable a way of living, that she got him a wife out of another country to come and live with him: she took him a wife out of the land of Egypt³. 3. Ishmael, and consequently Hagar

¹ Gen. xxi, 20.

² Ver. 21.

with him, fared no worse than the younger children used to fare in those days, when they were dismissed, in order to settle in the world; for we find, that in this manner the children which Abraham had by Keturah were dealt by⁴. Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac; but unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the East country. And much in this manner even Jacob, who was to be heir of the blessing, was sent away from his father. Esau was the eldest son, and as such was to inherit his father's substance: accordingly, when his father died, he came from Seir to take what was gotten for him by his father in the land of Canaan⁵; for we have no reason to suppose, that Jacob received any thing at Isaac's death; his brother left him only his own substance to increase with in the land; yet we find he had enough to maintain his wives and a numerous family, and all this the mere product of his own industry. When he first went from his father, he was sent a long journey to Padan-aram; we read of no servants nor equipage going with him, nor any accommodations prepared for his journey: he was sent, as we now-a-days might say, to seek his fortune, only instructed to seek it amongst his kinsfolk and relations⁶; and he went to seek it upon so uncertain a foundation, that we find him most earnestly

⁴ Gen. xxv, 6.⁵ Chap. xxxvi, 6.⁶ Chap. xxviii, 2.

praying to GOD to be with him in the way that he was to go, and not suffer him to want the necessities of life to support him, but to give him bread to eat and raiment to put on⁷; yet we see, by letting himself for hire to Laban, he both married his daughters, and in a few years became the master of a very considerable substance⁸. 4. We mistake, therefore, not duly considering the circumstances of these times, in supposing that Hagar and Ishmael had been such sufferers by Abraham's dismissing them. At first it might perhaps be disputed, whether Ishmael the firstborn, or Isaac the son of his wife, should be Abraham's heir; but after this point was determined, and GOD himself had determined that in Isaac Abraham's seed was to be called⁹, a provision was to be made, that Ishmael should go and plant a family of his own, or he must have been Isaac's bondman or servant, if he had continued in Abraham's family. Here then was only that provision made for him, which the then circumstances of the world directed fathers to make for their younger children, and not any hardship put upon either Hagar or her son. And though their wandering in the wilderness until they wanted water had almost destroyed them, yet that was only an accident, and no fault of Abraham; and after it pleased GOD to extricate them out of this difficulty, we have no reason to suppose that they met with any farther hardships; but being

⁷ Gen. xxviii, 20.

⁸ Chap. xxx, 43.

⁹ Chap. xxi, 12.

freed from servitude, they easily, by taking wild beasts and taming them, and by sowing corn, got a stock, and became in a few years a very flourishing family.

Abimelech saw the increasing prosperity of Abraham, and fearing that he would in time grow too powerful a subject, made him swear, that he would never injure him or his people. Some little disputes had arisen between Abimelech's servants and Abraham's about a well, which Abraham's servants had dug; but Abimelech and Abraham, after a little expostulation, quickly came to a good understanding, and both made a covenant, and sware unto each other¹. Abraham continued still to flourish; and his son Isaac being now near a man, it pleased GOD to make a very remarkable trial of Abraham's fidelity: he required him to offer his son Isaac² for a burnt-offering; which, without doubt, must at first be a great shock to him. He had before been directed to send away Ishmael, and assured that the blessings promised to his posterity were not to take place in any part of that branch of his family; but that Isaac should be the son of the promise, and that his descendants should be the heirs of that happiness and prosperity, which GOD had promised him; and now GOD was pleased to require him with his own hands to destroy this his son, his only son Isaac. How could these things be? What would

¹ Gen. xxi, 22, &c.

² Chap. xxii.

become of GOD's promises, if this child, to whom they were appropriated, were thus to perish? The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews gives a very elegant account of the method by which Abraham made himself easy in this particular: *By faith,* says he, *Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac: and he that had received the promises offered up his only begotten son, of whom it was said, that in Isaac shall thy seed be called; accounting that GOD was able to raise him up even from the dead, from whence also he received him in a figure*³. He considered, that GOD had given him his son in a very extraordinary manner; his wife, who bare him, being past the usual time of having children⁴; and that the thus giving him a son was in a manner raising him one from the dead; for it was causing a mother to have one, who was, naturally speaking, dead in this respect, and not to be conceived capable of bearing: that GOD Almighty could as certainly raise him really from the dead, as at first cause him to be born of so aged a parent. By this way of thinking he convinced himself, that his faith was not unreasonable, and then fully determined to act according to it; and so took his son and went to the place appointed, built the altar, and laid his son upon the wood, and took the knife, with a full resolution to kill the victim; but here his hand was stopped by a distinct and audible voice from Heaven. The angel of the LORD

³ Heb. xi, 17, 18, 19.

⁴ Chap. xi, 11.

called to him out of Heaven, and said, *Abraham, Abraham; and he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest GOD, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me*⁵. Abraham hereupon looked about, and seeing a ram caught in a thicket, took it, and offered that instead of his son⁶. GOD was pleased in an extraordinary manner to approve of his doing so, and by another voice from Heaven confirmed the promises, which had been before made to him⁷. Abraham being deeply affected with this surprising incident, called the place Jehovah-jireh, in remembrance of it; and there was a place in the mountain called by that name many ages after⁸. Soon after this Abraham went to live at Beersheba.

Some writers remark upon this intended sacrifice of Abraham in the following manner. They hint,

⁵ Gen. xxii, 11, 12.

⁶ Ver. 13.

⁷ Ver. 16, 17, 18.

⁸ Our English translation of the 14th verse is very obscure: *As it is said to this day, in the Mount of the LORD it shall be seen.* If we take the word יסמר to be a future tense, the whole verse may be translated thus: *And called the name of the place Jehovah-jireh, because it will be said (or told hereafter, that) this day the LORD was seen in the Mountain.* The LXX favour this translation: they render the place, καὶ ἐκαλεσεν Ἀβραάμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆ τοπῆς ἐκείνης, Κυρίου εἶδεν· ἵνα εἰπωσιν σήμερον ἐν τῷ ὄρει κυρίου ὡφθῇ. Or the Hebrew words may be Englished verbatim thus: *And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh, which (i. e. place) in the mountain is called at this day Jehorah-jireh.*

that he was under no surprise at receiving an order to perform it⁹, and think that we have no reason to extol him for this particular, as if he had hereby showed an uncommon readiness and devotion for God's service. For they say, that if he had really sacrificed his son, he would have done only a thing very common in those times wherein he lived; because it was customary, as Philo represents¹, for private persons, kings, and nations to offer these sacrifices. The barbarous nations, we are told², for a long time thought it an act of religion, and a thing acceptable to their gods, to sacrifice their children. And Philo-Biblius informs us, that in ancient times it was customary for kings of cities and heads of nations, upon imminent dangers, to offer the son, whom they most loved, a sacrifice to the public calamity, to appease the anger of the gods³. And it is remarked from Porphyry, that the Phœnicians, when in danger of war, famine, or pestilence, used to choose, by public suffrage, some one person, whom they most loved, and sacrifice him to Saturn; and Sanchoniathon's Phœnician History, which Philo-Biblius translated into Greek, is, he says, full of these sacrifices. Now from this seeming citation of divers writers, one would expect a variety of instances of these sacrifices before Abraham's days; but after all the for-

⁹ Lord Shaftesbury's Characterist. vol. iii, Misc. 2. Sir John Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 76.

¹ Philo Judæus lib. de Abraham.

² Id. ibid.

³ See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iv, c. 16.

wardness of these writers in their assertions upon this point, they produce but one particular instance, and that one most probably a misrepresentation of Abraham's intended sacrifice, and not a true account of any sacrifice really performed by any person that ever lived in the world. Or, if this may be controverted, and it be thought, that the person they mention did really offer the sacrifice which they mention; yet it must appear from the historian from whom they have it, that he did not live earlier, nor so early as Abraham; and therefore his sacrifice might be designed in imitation of Abraham's, and not Abraham's in conformity to any known practice of the nations where he lived.

The instance they offer is this. They say, that Chronus, whom the Phœnicians call Israel⁴, and who, after his death, was deified, and became the star called Saturn, when he reigned in that country, had an only son by the Nymph Anobret, a native of the land, whom he called Jend (that word signifying in the Phœnician language only begotten), and that when he was in extreme peril of war, he adorned his son in the royal apparel, and built an altar with his own hands, and sacrificed him⁵. Philo-Biblius, from Sanchoniathon, in another place represents it thus; that Chronus, upon the raging of a famine and pestilence, offered his

Sir John Marsham writes it Ιλ, and translates it *Ilus*; but Eusebius writes it Ισραηλ. Can. Chron. p. 77.

⁵ Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iv, c. 16.

only son for a burnt-offering to his father Ouranus⁶. Now upon this fact we may observe,

I. That the Chronus here mentioned was not more ancient than the times of Abraham; for if any one consults Sanchoniathon's account given us by Philo⁷, he will find, that after Sanchoniathon has brought down his genealogy to Misor, that is, to the Mizraim of Moses⁸, with whom he makes Sydec contemporary; he then informs us, that Sydec was father of the Dioscuri, Cabiri, or Corybantes, and that *κατα τέτες*, or in their life-time, Eliun was born⁹. Ouranus was son of Eliun, and Ilus, or Chronus, was son of Ouranus. Thus, supposing this Chronus to be the person who sacrificed his only son, it will be evident, that the grandfather of this person was born in the life-time of the sons of Mizraim the grandson of Noah, by his son Ham; and parallel to this, Nahor, the grandfather of Abraham, was born three hundred and forty two years before the death of Salah, the son of Arphaxad, who was Noah's grandson by his son Shem¹. Or we may compute this matter an-

⁶ Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

⁷ Id. ibid.

⁸ See vol. i, b. i.

⁹ This expression *κατα τέτες* implies that Eliun was younger than the Corybantes. Abraham was born in the forty-third year of the reign of Ninus, and so Eusebius says he was born *κατα τέτον*. Præf. ad. Chronic.

¹ This may easily be collected from Moses's account of the births and deaths of the post-diluvians. Gen. xi.

other way: Mizraim died A. M. 1943², his son Taautus lived forty-nine years after Mizraim's death, *i. e.* to A. M. 1992. Taautus was contemporary with the Dioscuri; for they were said to be sons of one contemporary with the father of Taautus. Abraham was born A. M. 2008, *i. e.* only sixteen years after Taautus's death, so that Abraham's grandfather must have been long before the deaths of these men. Thus, by both these accounts, Ilus or Chronus cannot be more ancient than Abraham; rather Abraham appears to have been more ancient than he. And this must be allowed to be more evidently true, if we consider that it was not Ilus or Chronus the son of Ouranus who made this sacrifice of his only son; but rather Chronus, who was called Israel, and was the son of Chronus, called Ilus, and therefore still later by one generation. Philo-Biblius in Eusebius does indeed hint, that Chronus offered his son to his father Ouranus; from whence it may be inferred, that the elder Chronus or son of Ouranus was the sacrificer; but we must not take the word father in this strict sense; for both sacred and profane writers often mean by that word, not the immediate father, but the head of any family, though the grandfather, or a still more remote ancestor. Sir John Marsham asserts that no one but Eusebius called this sacrificer Israel, that Philo wrote it *I l* meaning *Ilus*, not *Israel*, and that Eu-

² See vol. i, b. iv.

sebius mistook in thinking *Il* to be a short way of writing *Israel*. But to this it may be answered, that Ilus could not be the person that offered his son, because Ilus had more sons than one, for he had three sons, Chronus, Belus, and Apollo³. His son Chronus had but one only begotten son by Anobret, and this Chronus therefore was the person who sacrificed his only son, as he was likewise the person who circumcised himself and family⁴. Thus Eusebius, in calling this Chronus Israel, only distinguishes him from his father, who was called Ilus; and if Philo did indeed write him *Il*, he could not mean Ilus, because, by his own account of Ilus's children, he was not the person who offered his only son. The person therefore, whom these writers mention upon this occasion, can in no wise serve their purpose; for if they will credit their historian, he must be later than the days of Abraham, and what he did, and what can be said about him, will not prove that these sacrifices had been customary in the days of Abraham; but rather that the heathen nations, having a great opinion of Abraham and his religion, fell into this barbarous practice of sacrificing their children, upon a supposition that he had sacrificed Isaac, and set them an example. I need offer nothing further about Sanchoniathon's Chronus; what is already said will indisputably prove him too modern to furnish objections and cavils

³ Eusebius, Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10, p. 33.

⁴ Id. Ibid.

against Abraham's religion. However I cannot but think,

II. That this account of Sanchoniathon is really a relation of Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac, with only some additions and mistakes, which the heathen writers frequently made in all their relations. Sanchoniathon's history is long ago lost, and the fragments of it, which are preserved in other writers, are not intire as he wrote them, but have many mixtures of false history, allegory, and philosophy; such as the son of Thabio and other commentators upon his work had a fancy to add to him⁵. And very probably, if we had Sanchoniathon himself we should not find him exact in chronology or in the facts which he related, so that we must not examine his remains with too great a strictness; but if we throw away what seems the product of allegory, philosophy, and mistaken history in his remains, we may collect from him the following particulars about Chronus, whom the Phœnicians called Israel. 1. He was the son of a father, who had three children⁶, and so was Abraham. 2. Chronus had one only son by his wife⁷, and so had Abraham. 3. He had another son, by another person⁸, so had Abraham. 4. This Chronus circumcised himself and family⁹, so did Abraham. 5. Chronus sacrificed his only son¹, so was Abraham reported to have done, by some of the heathen

⁵ Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, p. 39.

⁶ Ibid. p. 38.

⁷ Ibid. p. 40.

⁸ Ibid. p. 38.

⁹ Id. Ibid.

¹ Ibid. et lib. iv, c. 16.

historians. 6. Chronus' son who was sacrificed was named Jehud², and thus Isaac is called by Moses³. 7. Chronus was by the Phœnicians called Israel⁴; here indeed is a small mistake; Israel was the name of Abraham's grandson; but the heathen writers commit greater errors in all their accounts of the Jewish affairs. They had a general notion, that Israel was the name of some one famous ancestor of the Israelites, but were not exact upon fixing it upon the right person. Justin⁵, after Trogius Pompeius, comes nearer the truth than Sanchoniathon, but he mistakes one generation, and gives the name of Israel to the son of Abraham. Sir John Marsham hints some little objections⁶ against taking Chronus here spoken of to be Abraham; but I cannot think, that, after what has been offered, they can want an answer. The History of Sanchoniathon's Chronus, and Moses' Abraham, do evidently agree in so many particulars, that there appears a far greater probability of their being one and the same person, than there does of the truth of any circumstance hinted by Sanchoniathon, which may seem to make them differ one from the other.

Sarah was now one hundred and twenty-seven years old, and died in Kirjath-arba in Hebron.

² Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. i, c. 10, p. 40.

³ Gen. xxii, 2. God said to Abraham, take now thy son, Jehud ka, *i. e.* thine only son.

⁴ Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10, p. 40; l. iv, c. 16, p. 155.

⁵ Justin. l. xxxvi, c. 2.

⁶ Can. Chron. p. 77,

Abraham hereupon bought a field of the sons of Heth⁷, which had a cave in it, and therein deposited the remains of his wife. He was now desirous to see his son Isaac married⁸ and therefore sent the head servant of his house into Padan-Aram, or Mesopotamia, to choose a wife for him from amongst his relations there. The servant went with a train and equipage, and carried presents suitable to the wealth and circumstances of his master⁹; and obtained for Isaac Rebekah the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother. Isaac was forty years old when he married, and therefore married A. M. 2148.

After Abraham had thus married his son to his satisfaction, he took himself another wife, whose name was Keturah¹; and had several children by her, *viz.* Zimran, Jockshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah. He took care in his life time to send these children into the world; *he gave them gifts, and sent them away, while he yet lived, from Isaac his son, eastward unto the East country*². This is the substance of what Moses has given us of the life of Abraham.

It is very remarkable, that the profane writers give us much the same accounts of him. Berosus indeed does not call him by his name, but describes a person of his character living ten generations after the Flood³; and so Moses makes Abram,

⁷ Gen. xxiii, 16.

⁸ Chap. xxiv.

⁹ Ver. 10.

¹ Gen. xxv.

² Ver. 6.

³ Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix, c. 16: Berosus' words are,

computing him to be the tenth from Noah. Nicolaus Damascenus calls him by name, and says that he came out of the country of the Chaldees, settled in Canaan, and upon account of a famine went into Egypt⁴. Eupolemus⁵ agrees, that Abraham was born at Uria (or Ur) of the Chaldees; that he came to live in Phœnicia⁶; that some time after his settling here, the Armenians (or rather the Assyrians) overcame the Phœnicians, and took captive Abraham's nephew; that Abraham armed his servants and rescued him; that he was entertained in the sacred city of Argarise by Melchisedec priest of God, who was king there; that some time after, on account of a famine, he went into Egypt with his whole family, and fixing there he called his wife his sister; that the king of Egypt married her, but that he was forced by a plague to consult his priests, and finding her to be Abraham's wife, he restored her. Artapanus, another of the heathen writers, does but just mention him; he says the Jews were at first called Hermiuth, afterwards Hebrews by Abraham, and that Abraham went into Egypt⁷, and afterwards returned into Syria again. Melo, who wrote a book against the Jews,

Μετα τον κατακλυσμον δεκατη γενεα παρα Χαλδαιοις τις ην δικαιος ανηρ και μεγας και τα θρανια εμπειρος.

⁴ Josephus Antiquitat. lib. i, c. 8; Euseb. Præp. Evang. ut sup.

⁵ Ibid. c. 17, p. 418.

⁶ The ancient heathen writers often call Syria, Canaan, and Phœnicia, by the same name.

⁷ Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix, c. 18, p. 420.

and therefore was not likely to admit any part of their history, that could possibly be called in question, gives a very large account of Abraham⁸. He relates, that his ancestors were driven from their native country: that Abraham married two wives, one of them of his own country and kindred, the other an Egyptian, who had been a bond-woman; that of the Egyptian he had twelve sons, who became twelve Arabian kings⁹; that of his wife he had only one son, whose name in Greek is Gelos (which answers exactly to the word Isaac). After other things interspersed he adds, that Abraham was commanded by God to sacrifice Isaac; but just when he was going to kill him, he was stopped by an angel, and offered a ram in his stead. Now, as these writers agree with Moses in their accounts of the transactions of Abraham's life, so is it also remarkable that they give much the same character of him; as they all allow that he was eminent for his virtue and religion; and they add moreover, that he was a person of the most extraordinary learning and wisdom. He was *δικαιος και μεγας και τα ουρανια εμπειρος*, says Berossus¹. Nicolaus Damascenus says, that his name was famous all over Syria; and that he increased the fame and reputation which he had acquired, by conversing with the most learned (*λογιωτατοις*) of

⁸ Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix, c. 19.

⁹ This is but a small mistake; the descendants of Ishmael were twelve kings, Gen. xvii, 20, and settled near Arabia.

¹ Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix, c. xvi, p. 417.

the Egyptian priests, confuting their errors, and persuading them of the truths of his own religion, so that he was admired amongst them² as a person of the greatest wit and genius, not only readily understanding a thing himself, but very happy in an ability to convince and persuade others of the truth of what he attempted to teach. Eupolemus says, that in eminence and wisdom he excelled all others; and that by his extraordinary piety, or strict adherence to his religion, *ἐπὶ τὴν εὐσεβείαν ὁρμησάντα* he obtained the favour of the Deity: *εὐαρεσθῆσαι τῷ Θεῷ* are his words³. Both Melo and Artapanus agree likewise in testifying that Abraham had been eminent for his wisdom and religion. There are several particulars of no great moment, in which these writers either differ from Moses, or relate circumstances which he has omitted. Nicolaus Damascenus relates, that Abraham came with an army out of the country of the Chaldees; that he reigned for some time a king at Damascus, and afterwards removed into Canaan. The little difference between this account and that of Moses may be easily adjusted. Abraham was indeed no king, but Moses observes that his family and appearance and prosperity in the world was such, that the nations he conversed with treated him,

² Θαυμασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ὡς συνετώτατος καὶ δεινὸς ἄνηρ, ὃ νοῆσαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πείσαι λέγων, περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε διδάσκειν. Euseb. in loc. sup. cit.

³ Euseb. sup. citat. This was the character, which Enoch obtained by his faith. Heb. xi, 5.

and spake of him as of a mighty prince. And when his family came first from Ur, and consisted both of those who settled at Haran, and those who removed with him into Canaan, he might be reported, as the circumstances of the world then were, to be the leader of an army; for very probably few armies were at that time more numerous than his followers. As to his reigning king at Damascus, it is easy to see how he made this mistake. The land of Haran, where Abraham made his first settlement, was a part of Syria, of which Damascus was afterwards the head city. Hence it might happen, that the heathen writers, finding that he made a settlement in this country, were not so exact about the place of it as they might have been; but readily took the capital city to have been inhabited by him. Damascenus relates farther, that when Abraham went to Egypt, he went thither partly upon account of the famine in Canaan, and partly to confer with the Egyptian priests about the nature of the gods; designing to go over to them, if their notions were better than his own, or to bring them over to him, if his own sentiments should be found to be the best grounded; and that he hereupon conversed with the most learned men amongst them. Moses relates nothing of this matter; but what we meet with about Syphis, a king of Egypt⁴, who reigned a little after Abraham's time and was very famous for religious

⁴ See vol. i, b. v; Euseb. in loc. sup. citat.

speculations, makes it exceeding probable, that Abraham might be very much celebrated in Egypt for his religion; and that his conversation there might occasion the kings of Egypt to study these subjects with a more than ordinary care. One thing I would remark before I leave these writers, namely, the life of Abraham was such, that even the profane writers found sufficient reason to think him not only famous for his piety, and adherence to the true religion, but very conspicuous also for his learning and good sense, far above and beyond his contemporaries. He was accounted not a man of low and puerile conceptions, nor a bigotted enthusiast; but one of temper proper to converse with those who differed from him, and able to confute the most learned opposers. He had a reason for his faith, and was able to give an answer to all objections, which the most learned could make to it⁵. And not only Damascenus, but all the other writers I have mentioned lay a foundation for this character. They all suppose him a great master of the learning which then prevailed in the world; abundantly able to teach and instruct the wisest men of the several nations with whom he conversed. This is the substance of what these writers offer about Abraham; in all which they so agree with Moses, as to confirm the truth of his history; and the more so, because in small matters they so differ from him, as to evidence, that they did not

⁵ See Damascenus's account of him, in Euseb. loc. sup. citat.

blindly copy after him, but searched for themselves; and at last could find no reason in matters of moment to vary from him. Abraham lived to be a hundred threescore and fifteen years old, and died A. M. 2183.

If we look back, it will be easy to see, who were Abraham's contemporaries in all the several parts of his life. He was born, according to Eusebius⁶, in the forty-third year of Ninus's reign; and Ninus reigning fifty-two years died when Abraham was nine years old. The five next succeeding heads of the Assyrian empire were¹ Semiramis, who governed forty-two years; Ninyas, who reigned thirty-eight; Arius, who reigned thirty; Aralius, who reigned forty; and Xerxes, who reigned thirty years. Abraham was contemporary with all these; for the years of all their reigns put together amount only to one hundred and eighty, and Abraham lived one hundred and seventy-five; therefore having spent but nine of them at the death of Ninus, his life will extend to the sixteenth year of the reign of Xerxes. And if we go into Egypt, and allow, as I have before computed, that Menes or Mizraim began to reign there A. M. 1772, and that he reigned there until A. M. 1943; it will follow that Abraham was born in the reigns of Athothes, Cencenes, and Mesochris, kings of Egypt, that kingdom being at this time parted into several sovereignties; and he lived long enough to see

⁶ In Chronic.

⁷ Euseb. in Chronic.

three or four successions in each of their kingdoms, as will appear to any one who consults Sir John Marsham's tables of these kings, making due allowance for the difference between my account and his of the reign of Menes. Abraham was born, according to Castor in Eusebius, in the thirty-sixth year of Europs the second king of Sicyon; for, according to that writer⁸, Ægialeus the first king of Sicyon began his reign in the fifteenth year of Belus king of Assyria, *i. e.* A. M. 1920. Ægialeus reigned fifty-two years; so that Europs succeeded him A. M. 1972, and the thirty sixth year of Europs will be A. M. 2008, in which year Abraham was born. Europs reigned forty-five years, and Abraham lived to see five of his successors, and died ten years before Thurimachus the seventh king of Sicyon. Cres is said to have been king of Crete about the fifty-sixth year of Abraham, and about twenty-nine years before Abraham's death. Inachus reigned first king of Argos about A. M. 2154.

I am sensible, that some writers think the kings of Greece, whom I have mentioned, were not thus early. As to the first king of Crete, there can be but little offered; for we have nothing of the Cretan history which can be depended upon before Minos. Eusebius⁹ indeed places Cres in the fourth or fifth year of Ninyas; but afterwards he seems in some doubt whether there really was such a

⁸ Euseb. in Chronic. p. 19.

⁹ Chronic. p. 91. Num. 56.

person, and remarks¹, that some writers affirmed Cres to be the first king of Crete, others that one of the Curetes governed there about the time at which he imagined Cres to begin his reign; so that he found more reason to think that there was a king in Crete at this time, than to determine what particular persons governed it. We meet the names of three other kings of Crete in Eusebius; Cydon, Apteras, and Lapes; but we have little proof of the times of their reigns. There is a large account of the first inhabitants of Crete in Diodorus²; the history is indeed in many things fabulous, and too confused to be reduced into such order as might enable us to draw any consistent conclusions from it; but there seem to be hints of generations enough before Minos to induce us to think, that they might have a king as early as Eusebius supposes; but whether their first king was called Cres, or who he was, we cannot conjecture. Inachus is said to be the first king of Argos. He scarcely indeed deserves the name of king; for in his days the Argives lived up and down the country in companies. Phoroneus the son of Inachus gathered the people together, and formed them into a community³. Very probably Inachus might be a very wise and judicious man, who instructed his countrymen in many useful arts of living, and he might go frequently amongst them, and head their companies in several parts of

¹ P. 94. ad Num. 129.

² Lib. v.

³ Pausanias in Corinthiacis, p. 112.

the country, teaching them to kill or take, and tame the wild beasts for their service, and instructing them in the best manner of gathering and preserving the fruits of the earth for their occasions. In this manner he might take the first steps towards forming them into society; and having been a leader and director of many companies, as he happened to fall in amongst them, he might be afterwards commemorated as their king, though strictly speaking it was his son who completed his designs, and brought the people to unite in forming a regular society, under the direction of one to govern them for the public good. Some writers think, that there was no such person as Inachus. Inachus is the name not of a king, but of a river, says Sir John Marsham⁴; but here I think that learned gentleman is mistaken. Inachus being the name of a river, may be offered as an argument, that there had been some very eminent person so called before the naming the river from him; for thus the ancients endeavoured to perpetuate the memories of their ancestors, by giving their names to countries, cities, mountains, and rivers. Haran being the name of a country⁵, and Nahor the name of a city⁶, is no proof that there were no men thus called, but rather the contrary; and abundance of like instances might be offered from the profane historians. Other writers allow, that there was such a person as Inachus;

⁴ Canon. Chronic. p. 15.

Gen. xi. 31.

⁶ Chap. xxiv. 10.

but they do not think him near so ancient as we here suppose him. Clemens Alexandrinus places him about the time of the children of Israel's going out of Egypt⁷; and this was the opinion of Africanus, and of Josephus, or Josippus, and of Justus, who wrote a history of the Jews⁸; which was espoused by Clemens, and by Tatian also, most probably out of a zeal to raise the antiquity of Moses as high as any thing the heathens could pretend to offer. Porphyry took advantage of this mistake, and was willing to improve it. He not only allowed Moses to be as ancient as Inachus, but placed him even before Semiramis. And Eusebius hints that he had endeavoured to do that out of zeal against the sacred writers⁹. Thus no endeavours have been wanting to puzzle and perplex the accounts of the sacred history. At first the heathen writers endeavoured to pretend to antiquities beyond what the sacred writers could be thought to aim at; but when the falsity of this pretence was abundantly detected, then Porphyry thought he could compass the end aimed at another way, by endeavouring to show, that the heathen history did not reach near so far back as had been imagined; but that the times of which Moses treated were really so much prior to the first rise of the most ancient kingdoms, that all possible accounts of them can at best be but fiction and mere fancy. This put Eusebius upon a strict and care-

⁷ Strom. lib. i, sect. 21.

⁸ See Proœm. ad Euseb. Chron.

⁹ Ibid.

ful review of the ancient history¹; and in order hereto, he first collected the particulars of the ancient histories of all nations, that had made any figure in the world, and then endeavoured to arrange them with one another. And if any one will take the pains to look over the materials which Eusebius collected², he will see that the first year of the reign of Inachus must be placed about the time where I have above fixed it. The writers, who had treated of the Argive accounts before Castor, could not find³ what to synchronize the first year of Inachus with, and therefore could at best but guess where to fix it. But Castor has informed us, that Inachus began to reign about the time of Thurimachus the seventh king of Sicyon⁴, I suppose about his sixth year, as Eusebius computes⁵. This will place him in the year above-mentioned; for Ægialeus the first king of Sicyon began his reign A. M. 1920; and from the first year of Ægialeus to the first year of Thurimachus are two hundred and twenty-eight years⁶. Carry this account forward to the sixth year of the reign of Thurimachus, and you will place the first year

¹ Εγώ δε περι πολλὰ τον ἀληθὴ λόγον τιμωμενος καὶ το ἀκριβες ἀνιχνεύσαι δια σπαδῆς πρὸδεμην. Euseb. Proœm.

² Chron. λογ. πρῶτ. ἐν P. I.

³ Ο χρόνος αὐτῆ βασιλείας ἀσυμφωνος φερεται παρ Ἑλλήσι δια τὴν ἀρχαιοτητα. Chron. p. 23.

⁴ Chron. p. 24.

⁵ Ad Num. Euseb. 161, p. 96.

⁶ This will appear by putting together the years of the reigns of the kings of Sicyon, from Ægialeus to Thurimachus.

of Inachus, A. M. 2154, as above; and this seems to be a just and reasonable position of it. All writers agree in making Danaus the tenth king of Argos⁷, and Pausanias⁸ has given a very clear account of the several kings from Inachus to Danaus, so as to leave no room to doubt that there were so many. Now the time of Danaus coming into Greece⁹, being near the time when Moses visited the Israelites, A. M. 2494, Inachus must evidently be long before Moses, and most probably not earlier than the latter end of Abraham's life. Moses was the sixth in descent from Abraham, being the third from Levi¹, and was contemporary with Danaus; and it is not improbable to suppose ten successions of kings in any country within the compass of the generations between Abraham and Moses. In like manner the accounts we have of the kings of Sicyon have no apparent inconsistency or improbability, to give any seeming colour of prejudice against them. Ægialeus, the first king of Sicyon, according to Castor, began to reign A. M. 1920, that is, two hundred and thirty-four years before Inachus at Argos; and according to the same writer, the Sicyonians had had six kings in that space of time, and the seventh had reigned a few years. Therefore these first kings of Sicyon

⁷ Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. sect. 59, p. 131; Euseb. in Chron. p. 24; Pausanias in Corinthiacis, p. 112.

⁸ Pausan. *ibid.*

⁹ See vol. i. b. v; and hereafter b. viii.

¹ 1 Chron. vi, 1—3.

must have reigned thirty-eight years each, one with another; which is no extravagant length of time for their reigns, considering the length of men's lives in those ages. Moses gives an account of eight successive kings of Edom, who reigned one with another much longer². Sir John Marsham³ endeavours to set aside these ancient kings of Sicyon, but his arguments are very insufficient. His inference, that there could be no kings of Sicyon before Phoroneus reigned at Argos, because Acusilaus, Plato, or Syncellus, have occasionally spoken at large of the antiquity of Phoroneus, calling him the first man, or in the words of the poet cited by Clemens Alexandrinus, the father of mortal men⁴, can require no refutation. For these writers did not mean to assert that there were no men before Phoroneus; but only that he was of great antiquity. Sir John Marsham, from the following verse of Homer⁵,

Και Σικυων, οὗ αὖ' Ἀδραστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασιλευεν,

would insinuate, that Adrastus was the first king of Sicyon. Scaliger had obviated this interpretation of Homer's expression, but our learned author

² Gen. xxxvi, 31 — 39; and see hereafter b. vii.

³ Can. Chron. p. 16.

⁴ Ἀκυσίλαος Φωρωνα πρῶτον Ἀνθρώπον γενεσθαι λεγει, οθεν ο της Φωρωνιδος ποιητης ειναι αυτον εφη Πατερα σθνητων Ἀνθρώπων. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i. sec. 21.

⁵ Il. ii, ver. 572.

rejects what Scaliger offers upon it; yet certainly no one can infer what he would have inferred from it. Had Homer used *πρωτος* instead of *πρωτ'*, there would have seemed more colour for his interpretation; but *πρωτ'*, which is the same as *τα πρωτα*, can signify no more than *formerly, heretofore, or in the first or ancient days*. Adrastus was, according to Pausanias⁶ (for Castor has misplaced him), the eighteenth king of Sicyon; and Homer did not mean to assert that he was the first king that ever reigned there, but only that Sicyon was a country of which Adrastus had anciently been king; and thus our English poet expresses Homer's meaning, calling Sicyon

———Adrastus' ancient reign⁷.

Our learned writer makes objections against some particular kings in the Sicyonian roll: but it is observable, that Castor and Pausanias differ in some particular names; and if we suppose that both gave true accounts in general, but that each might make some small mistakes, misnaming or misplacing a king or two, his objections will all vanish; for they do not happen to lie against the particular names in which Castor and Pausanias agree. I was willing to mention the objections of this learned writer because he himself seems to lay some stress upon them, though certainly it

In Corinthiacis, p. 96.

⁷ Pope's Homer.

must appear unnecessary to confute objections of this nature. And it is surprisingly strange to see, what mere shadows of argumentation even great and learned men will embrace, if they seem to favour their particular notions. Castor's account of the Sicyonian kings will appear, when I shall hereafter further examine it, to be put together with good judgment and exactness: it has some faults, but is not therefore all error and mistake. When we shall come down to the Trojan war, and have seen how far he and Pausanias agree, and where they differ; and shall consider from them both, and from other writers, what kings of Sicyon we have reason to admit, before that country became subject to Agamemnon; we shall find abundant reason to extend their history thus far backwards, and to believe that Ægialeus reigned as early as Castor supposes.

The ages in which these ancients lived were full of action. If we look into the several parts of the world, we find in all of them men of genius and contrivance, forming companies, and laying schemes to erect societies, and to get into the best method of teaching a multitude to live together in community, to reap the benefits of social life. Nimrod formed a kingdom at Babel, and soon after him Ashur formed one in Assyria, Mizraim in Egypt, and there were kingdoms in Canaan, Philistia, and in divers other places. Abraham was under the direction of an extraordinary providence, which led him not to be king of any country; but we find

that he got together under his direction a numerous family ; so that he could at any time form a force of three or four hundred men, to defend himself, or offend his enemies. Ægialeus raised a kingdom at Sicyon, Inachus at Argos, and divers other persons in other different parts of the world ; but the most ancient polity was that established by Noah, in the countries near to which he lived, and which his children planted about the time, or before the men who travelled to Shinaar left him.

Noah, as has been said⁸, came out of the ark in the parts near to India ; and the profane historians inform us, that a person, whom they call Bacchus, was the founder of the polity of these nations⁹. He came, they say, into India, before any cities were built in that country, or any armies or bodies of men sufficient to oppose him¹ ; a circumstance which duly considered will prove, that whoever this person was, he came into India before the days of Ninus. For when Ninus, and after him Semiramis, made attempts upon these countries, they found them so well disciplined and settled, as to be abundantly able to defend themselves, and to repel all attacks, which could be made upon them². I am sensible that some writers have supposed that the time of Bacchus's coming to India was much

⁸ Vol. i, b. ii, p. 92.

⁹ Diodor. Sic. lib. ii, sec. 38.

¹ Id. ibid. p. 123, edit. Rhodoman.

² See vol. i, b. iv, p. 178 ; Diodorus Sic. lib. ii, sec. 6, 7, &c. ; Justin. lib. i.

later than Ninus. But then it must be observed, that they cannot mean, by their Bacchus, the person here spoken of, who came into India before any cities were built, or kingdoms established in it; because from the times of Ninus downwards, all writers agree, that the Indians were in a well-ordered state and condition, and did not want to be taught the arts, which this Bacchus is said to have spread amongst them; nor were they liable to be over-run by an army in that manner, in which he is said to have subdued all before him. And farther; if we look over all the famous kings and heroes, celebrated by the heathen historians, we can find no one between the times of Ninus and Sesostris, who can with any show of reason be supposed to have travelled into these eastern nations, and performed any very remarkable actions in them. Ninus, and after him Semiramis, attempted to penetrate these countries, but they met with great repulses and obstructions; and we do not read, that the Assyrian or Persian empires were ever extended farther East than Bactria; so that none of the kings of this empire can be the Bacchus so famous in these eastern kingdoms. If we look into Egypt, there were no famous warriors before Sesostris³. Mizraim and his sons peopled Egypt, Libya, Philistia, and the bordering countries, and they might probably be known in Canaan and Phœnicia; but we have no reason to suppose, that

³ Diodorus, lib. i, sec. 52, 53.

any of them made an expedition into India. The Assyrian empire lay as a barrier between Egypt and India; and we have no hints either that the Assyrians conquered India, or that the Egyptians before Sesostris made any conquests in Asia, or passed through Assyria into the more eastern nations.

It may, perhaps, be here said, that Sesostris was Bacchus, who conquered the East, and founded the Indian polity. But to this I answer; 1. India was not in so low and unsettled a state in the time of Sesostris, as it is described to have been, when this Bacchus came into it; for, as I remarked before, these nations were powerful in the days of Ninus, and so continued until Alexander the Great; and it is remarkable, that even he met a more considerable opposition from Porus, a king of this country, than any which had been made to his victorious arms by the whole Persian empire. 2. All the writers, who have offered any thing about Bacchus and Sesostris, are express in supposing them to be different persons. Diodorus Siculus⁵ refutes at large a mistake of the Greeks, who imagined that the famous Bacchus was the son of Jupiter and Semele; and intimates how and upon what foundation Orpheus and the succeeding poets led them into this error. Though there were persons in after-ages called Bacchus, Hercules, and by other celebrated names, yet he

⁵ Lib. i, sec. 23, p. 20. Edit. Rhodoman.

justly observes, that the heroes so first called, lived in the first ages of the world⁵. As to Sesostris, the same writer, after he has brought down the history of Egypt from Menes to Myris⁶, then supposes that Sesostris was seven generations later than Myris⁷, which makes him by far too modern to be accounted the Bacchus, who lived according to his opinion in the first ages of the world. 3. But Sesostris cannot be the Indian Bacchus, because Sesostris never came into India at all. Diodorus, indeed, says, that Sesostris passed over the Ganges, and conquered all India as far as the ocean; but he must have been mistaken in this particular. Herodotus has given a very particular account of the expeditions of Sesostris⁸, and it does not appear from him, that he went farther east than Bactria, where he turned aside to the Scythians, and, extending his conquests over their dominions, returned into Asia at the river Phasis, which runs into the Euxine Sea. Now this account agrees perfectly well with the reason assigned by the priest of Vulcan for not admitting the statue of Darius to take place of the statue of Sesostris⁹; because, he said, Sesostris had been master of more nations than Darius, having subdued not only all the kingdoms subject to Darius, but the Scythians besides. India was no part of the Persian empire, and therefore had Sesostris conquered India, here

⁵ Κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενεὴν Ἀνδρωπῶν. Id. *ibid.* sec. 24.

⁶ Id. p. 35, sec. 55.

⁷ Id. p. 35.

⁸ Lib. ii, c. 103.

⁹ Herodot. lib. ii, c. 110.

would have been another considerable addition to his glory, and the priest of Vulcan would have mentioned this, as well as Scythia, as an instance of his exceeding the power and dominion of Darius. But the truth was, neither Darius nor Sesostris had ever subjugated India; for, as Justin remarks, Semiramis and Alexander the Great were the only two persons that entered this country¹. The accounts of the victories of Sesostris given by Manetho, both in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius², and in Josephus³, agree very well with Herodotus, and confine his expeditions to Europe and Asia, and make no mention of his entering India. To this agree all the accounts we have of the several pillars erected by him in memory of his conquests, which were found in every country where he had been⁴; but we have no account of any such monuments of him in India. Ctesias, perhaps, might imagine he had been in this country, and from him Diodorus might have it; but though Ctesias's Assyrian history has by the best writers been thought worthy of credit, yet his accounts of India were not so well written, but were full of fiction and mistakes⁵. It appears from what all other writers have offered about Sesostris⁶,

¹ Justin. lib. i, c. 2. Indiæ bellum intulit; quò præter illam et Alexandrum nemo intravit.

² Chronic. p. 15.

³ Contra Apion. l. i.

⁴ Herodot. ubi sup.

⁵ Hen. Steph. de Ctesia Disquisit.

⁶ I have followed the accounts which are given of Sesostris; though I shall have occasion hereafter to remark how far they

that he never was in India, and therefore he cannot be the person who first settled the polity of these kingdoms.

It may perhaps be thought more difficult to say who this Indian Bacchus was, than to prove that Sesostris was not the person. The ancient writers have made almost an endless confusion, by the variety of names which they sometimes give to one person, and sometimes calling various persons by one and the same name. Diodorus Siculus was sensible of the many difficulties occasioned hereby when he was to treat of the Egyptian gods⁷. Several persons have been called by the name of Bacchus, at least one in India, one in Egypt, and one in Greece; but we must not confound them one with the other, especially when we have remarkable hints by which we may sufficiently distinguish them. For, 1. the Indian Bacchus was the first and most ancient of all who bore that name⁸. 2. He was the first who pressed the grape and made wine⁹. 3. He lived in these parts before there were any cities in India¹. 4. They say he was twice born, and that he was nourished in the thigh of Jupiter. These are the particulars which the heathen writers give of the Indian Bacchus; and from all these hints it must unquestion-

go beyond what is true; Sesostris was not so great a conqueror as he is represented.

⁷ Lib. i, sec. 24, p. 21.

⁸ Id. lib. iii, sec. 63, p. 197. Edit. Rhodoman.

⁹ Id. lib. iv, sec. 4.

¹ Id. lib. ii, sec. 37.

ably appear that he was Noah, and no other. Noah being the first man in the post-diluvian world, lived early enough to be the most ancient Bacchus; and Noah, according to Moses², was the first who made wine. Noah lived in these parts as soon as he came out of the ark, earlier than any cities were built in India; and as to the last circumstance, of Bacchus being twice born, and brought forth out of the thigh of Jupiter, Diodorus gives us an unexpected light into the true meaning of this tradition. He says³, “That Bacchus was said to be twice born, because in Deucalion’s flood he was thought to have perished with the rest of the world, but God brought him again, as by a second nativity, into the sight of men, and they say mythologically, that he came out of the thigh of Jupiter.” It seems very probable that this had been the ancient Indian tradition, in order to perpetuate the memory of Noah’s preservation; and Diodorus, or the writers, from whom he took it, have corrupted it but very little. Deucalion’s flood is a western expression; the Greeks indeed called the ancient flood, of which they had some imperfect traditions, sometimes the flood of Ogyges, and sometimes of Deucalion; but I cannot think, that

² Gen. ix, 20.

³ Δις δ’ αὐτὲς τὴν γενεσὶν ἐκ Διὸς παραδεδοσθαι, διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλιωνᾶ κατακλυσμῷ φθαρῆναι, καὶ τετὸς τῆς καρπῆς, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν παλιν ἀναφύειν, ὥσπερ δευτέραν ἐπιφανείαν ταυτὴν ὑπαρῆαι τῷ Θεῷ παρ’ ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μὴρς γενεσθαι παλιν τὸν Θεὸν τετὸν μυθολογεῖ. Diodor. lib. iii, sec. 62, p. 196.

the name of Deucalion was ever in the ancient Indian antiquities; and the tradition itself, not being understood by the Greeks, is applied to the vine of Bacchus, instead of himself. For it was not the vine more than any other tree, but the vine-planter, who was so wonderfully preserved, as is hinted by this mythological tradition. I think I need offer no more upon this particular; for any one, who impartially weighs what I have already put together, will admit that Noah was the Indian Bacchus; and that the heathen writers had at first short hints or memoirs, that after the deluge he came out of the ark in the place I have formerly hinted near to India; that he lived and died in these countries, and that his name was famous amongst his posterity, for the many useful arts he taught them, and instructions he gave them, for their providing and using the conveniences of life; though we now have in the remains of these writers little more than this and a few other fabulous relations about him. The particular which Diodorus mentions, that Bacchus went out of the West into India with an army, is a fiction of some western writer: no western king or army ever conquered India, before Alexander the Great; for Semiramis only made some unsuccessful attempts towards it. And it is remarkable, that Diodorus himself was not assured of this fact; for he expressly informs us, that though the Egyptians contended that this Bacchus was a native of their country, yet the Indians, who ought to be al-

lowed to know their own history best, denied it, and asserted as positively, that Bacchus was originally of their country⁴; and that having invented and contrived the culture of the vine, he communicated the knowledge of the use of wine to the inhabitants of the other parts of the world.

Noah lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood⁵, and died about the time when Abraham was born. He began to be a husbandman and planted a vineyard⁶ soon after the flood; he was the first that obtained leave for men to eat the living creatures⁷; and, by teaching this, and putting his children upon the study and practice of planting and agriculture, he laid the first foundation for raising a plentiful maintenance for great numbers of people in the several parts of the world. It is very probable that men, whilst they were but few, lived a ranging and unsettled life, moving up and down, killing such of the wild beasts of the field, or fowls of the air, as they liked for food, or which came in their way; and gathering such fruits of the earth, as the wild trees or uncultivated fields spontaneously offered⁸. But when mankind came to multiply, this course of life must grow very in-

⁴ Diodorus, lib. iv, p. 210.

⁵ Gen. ix, 29.

⁶ Ver. 20.

⁷ Gen. ix; see vol. i, b. ii.

⁸ See Ovid. Metam. Fab. 3.

Contentique cibus nullo cogente creatis,
Arbuteos fœtus, montanaque fraga legebant,
Cornaque & in duris hærentia mora rubetis;
Et quæ deciderant patulâ Jovis arbore glandes.

convenient; therefore Noah, as his children increased, taught them how to live a settled life, and by tilling the ground increase the quantity of provision, which the earth could produce, that hereby they might live comfortably, without breaking in upon one another's plenty. At what particular time Noah instructed his children to form civil societies, we cannot certainly say; but I imagine, it might be about the time when the persons who travelled to Shinaar⁹ left him; and that they left him, because they were not willing to come into the measures, and submit to the appointments which he made for those who remained with him. These men perhaps thought, that the necessity of tilling the ground was occasioned only by too many living too near each other; and that, if they separated and travelled, the earth could still afford them sufficient nourishment, without the labour of tilth and culture; and this notion very probably brought them to Shinaar.

Diodorus Siculus has given us such an account of the ancient Indian polity, as may lead us to conjecture what steps Noah directed his children to take, in order to form nations and kingdoms¹. The Chinese kingdom seems to stand upon these regulations even to this day; being, as they themselves report, little different now from what it was when framed by their legislators, as they compute, above four thousand years ago. The ancient

⁹ See b. ii.

¹ Lib. ii.

writers called all the most eastern nations by the name of India. They accounted India to be the largest of all the nations in the world², nay, as large as all Asia besides³; so that they took under that name a much larger tract than what is now called India, most probably all India, and what we now call China; for they extended it eastward to the Eastern Sea⁴, not meaning hereby what modern geographers call the Eastern Indian Ocean, but rather the great Indian Ocean, which washes upon the Philippine Isles. The ancients had no exact knowledge of these parts of the world, but thought that the land ran, in some parts, farther East than it is now supposed to do, and in others not so far; but still, as they all agreed to bound the earth everywhere with waters, according to Ovid,

Circumfluit humor
Ultima possedit, solidumque coercuit orbem,

so their *Mare Eoum*, or Eastern Sea, was that which terminated the extreme eastern countries, however imperfect a notion they had of their true situation; and all the countries from Bactria up to this Eastern Ocean were their India. Though the ancient antiquities of the countries we now call India are quite lost or defaced, yet it is remarkable, that, if

² Strabo, lib. ii.

³ Strabo, lib. xv.

⁴ Strabo, lib. ii, ubi sup.

we go farther East into China, to which so many incursions of the more western kingdoms and conquerors have not so frequently reached, or so much affected, we find great remains of what Diodorus calls the ancient Indian polity, and which very probably was derived from the appointments of Noah to his children. But let us inquire what these appointments probably were. Now,

The Indians are divided into seven different orders or sorts of men. Their first legislator considered what employments were necessary to be undertaken and cultivated for the public welfare, and he appointed several sets or orders of men, that each art or employment might be duly taken care of, by those whose proper business it was to employ themselves in it. 1. Some were appointed to be philosophers and to study astronomy. In ancient times, men had no way of knowing when to sow or till their grounds, but by observing the rising and setting of particular stars; for they had no calendar for many ages, nor had they divided the year into a set of months; but the lights of heaven were, as Moses speaks, for signs to them, and for seasons⁵, and for days, and for years. They gradually found by experience, that when such or such stars appeared, the seasons for the several parts of tillage were come; and therefore found it very necessary to make the best

⁵ Gen. i.

observations they could of the heavens, in order to cultivate the earth, so that they might expect the fruits in due season. That this was indeed the way which the ancients took to find out the proper seasons for the several parts of the husbandman's employment is evident, both from Hesiod and Virgil. The seasons of the year were pretty well settled before Hesiod's time, and much better before that of Virgil; as may appear from Hesiod's mentioning the several seasons of spring, summer, and winter, and the names of some particular months. But both these poets have given several specimens of the ancient directions for sowing and tillage, which men at first were not directed to perform in this or that month, or season of the year: for these were not so early observed or settled, but upon the rising or setting of particular stars. Thus Hesiod advises to reap and plough by the rising and setting of the Pleiades⁶, to cut wood by the dog-star⁷, and to prune vines by the rising of Arcturus. And thus Virgil lays it down for a general rule, that it was as necessary for the countryman as for the sailor to observe the stars⁸; and gives various directions for husbandry and tillage in the ancient way, forming rules for the times of performing the several parts of husbandry from the lights of heaven. Men had but little notion of the seasons of the year, whilst they did

⁶ Hesiod *Εργων και Ημερων*, lib. ii.

⁷ Id. *ibid.*

⁸ Virgil. *Georg.* lib. i.

not know what the true length of the year was ; or at least, they must after a few years' revolutions be led into great mistakes about them. About a thousand years passed after the flood, before the most accurate observers of the stars in any nation were able to guess at the true length of the year, without mistaking above five days⁹ in the length of it ; and in some nations they mistook more, and found out their mistake later. Now it is easy to see, what fatal mismanagement such ignorance as this would, in six or eight years time, introduce into our agriculture, if we really thought summer and winter should come about five or six days sooner every year than their real revolution. And I think, that they who first attempted to till the ground must do it with great uncertainty ; and perhaps occasion many of the famines, which were so frequent in ancient times, being not well apprised of the true course of the seasons, and therefore tilling and sowing in unseasonable times, and in an improper manner. They observed in a little time that the stars appeared in different positions at different times ; and, by trying experiments, they came to guess under what star, so to speak, this or that grain was to be sown and reaped ; and thus by degrees fixed good rules for their Geonics, before they attained a just and adequate notion of the revolution of the year. But then it is obvious, that any one who could give

⁹ Pref. to vol. i.

instructions in this matter, must be highly esteemed, being most importantly useful in every kingdom. And since no one was able to give these instructions, unless he spent much time in carefully making all sorts of observations (the best that could be made at first being but very imperfect), it seems highly reasonable that every king should set apart and encourage a number of diligent students, to cultivate these studies with all possible industry; and agreeably hereto, they paid great honours to these astronomers in Egypt, and at Babylon, and in every other country where tillage was attempted with any prudence or success. Noah must be well apprised of the usefulness of this study, having lived six hundred years before the flood; and was without doubt well acquainted with all the arts of life which had been invented in the first world, of which the observation of the stars had been one; so that he could not only apprise his children of the necessity, but also put them into some method of prosecuting these studies.

Another set of men were to make it their whole business to till the ground; and a third sort to keep and order the cattle, to chase and kill such of the beasts as would be noxious to mankind, or destroy the tillage, and incommode the husbandman; and to take, and tame, and feed such as might be proper for food or service. A fourth set of men were appointed to be artificers, to employ

themselves in making all sorts of weapons for war, and instruments for tillage, and to supply the whole community in general with all utensils and furniture. A fifth set were appointed for the arts of war, to exercise themselves in arms, to be always ready to suppress intestine tumults and disorders, or repel foreign invasions and attacks, whenever ordered for either service; and this their standing force was very numerous, for it was almost equal to the number of the tillers of the ground. A sixth sort were the Ephori, or overseers of the kingdom, a set of persons employed to go over every part of the king's dominions, examining the affairs and management of the subjects, in order to report what might be amiss, that proper measures might be taken to correct and amend it. And lastly, they had a set of the wisest persons to assist the king as his council, and to be employed, either as magistrates or officers to command his armies, or in governing and distributing justice amongst his people. The ancient Indians were, as Diodorus tells us, divided into these seven different orders or sorts of men; and the Chinese polity, according to the best accounts we have, varies but little in substance from these institutions; and, according to Le Compte, it was much the same when first settled as it is now, and therefore very probably Noah formed such a plan as this for the first kingdoms. The Chinese say, that Fohi their first king reigned over them one hundred and fifteen years; therefore sup-

posing Noah to be this Fohi¹, he began to reign in China one hundred and fifteen years before his death, *i. e.* A. M. 1891, for Noah was born A. M. 1056², and he lived nine hundred and fifty years³; therefore, according to this account, we may well allow the truth of what they say, that their government was first settled about four thousand years ago. If we begin the Christian æra, with archbishop Usher, A. M. 4004, this present year, 1727, will be A. M. 5731; and the interval between this year, and that in which Noah first reigned in China, is three thousand eight hundred and forty years. But we are not to suppose that Noah began the first kingdom which he erected in China. He came out of the ark three hundred and fifty years before his death⁴, he settled in China but one hundred and fifteen, and it is most probable that he acted in these countries as Mizraim did in Egypt. He directed his children to form societies, first in one place, and then in another; and he might begin in countries not so far East as China, at the time when part of his descendants removed westward towards Shinaar, about A. M. 1736⁵. Now, if we date the rise of the kingdoms founded by Noah about this time, it will in truth be very near four thousand years ago; so that there seems upon the whole but very little mistake in the Chinese account. They only report things done by Noah before he was, strictly speaking, their king; but hardly before he had per-

¹ See vol. i, b. ii.

² Vol. i, b. i.

³ Gen. ix, 29.

⁴ Ib. ver. 28.

⁵ See vol. i, b. ii.

formed those very things in places adjacent and bordering upon them. Some remarks may be added before I dismiss this account of the plan, upon which it seems so probable, that Noah erected the first kingdoms. And,

I. The king in these nations had the sole property of all the lands in the kingdom. All the land, says Diodorus⁶, was the king's, and the husbandmen paid rent for their lands to the king, *της χωρας μισθες τελθει τω βασιλει*; and he adds farther, that no private person could be the owner of any land; and even still the lands in China⁷ are held by soccage, and the persons who have the use of them pay duties and contributions for them.

Now these began very early, or rather were at first appointed; for, 2, according to Diodorus, over and above the rent, the ancient Indians paid a fourth part of the product of their ground to the king; and with the income arising hence, the king maintained the soldiers, the magistrates, the officers, the students of astronomy, and the artificers who were employed for the public⁸. The ground rent, as I might call it, of the lands seems to have been the king's patrimony, and the additional or income tax was appointed for the public service. 3. They had a law against slavery⁹; for no person amongst them could absolutely lose his freedom, and be-

⁶ Lib. ii, sec. 39, p. 88, ed. Rhodoman.

⁷ Le Compte, p. 248, ed. 1697.

⁸ Diodor. Sic. ubi sup.

⁹ Diodor. lib. ii, sec. 39, p. 88, ed Rhod. *Νενομοθετῆται παρ' αυτοις δελιν μηδενα το παραπαν ειναι.*

come a bondsman. Many of the heathen writers thought, that this was an original institution in the first laws of mankind. Lucian says, that there was such an appointment in the days of Saturn¹, *i. e.* in the first ages; and Athenæus observes, that the Babylonians, Persians, as well as the Greeks, and divers other nations, celebrated annually a sort of Saturnalia, or feasts instituted most probably in commemoration of the original state of freedom, in which men lived before servitude was introduced²; and as Moses revived several of Noah's institutions, so there are appointments in the law to preserve the freedom of the Israelites³. 4. We do not find any national priests appointed in the original institutions of these nations. This I think a very remarkable particular; because we have early mention of the priests, in the accounts we have of many other nations. In Egypt they were an order of the first rank, and had a considerable share of the lands in the time of Joseph; according to Diodorus, they had the third part of the whole land of Egypt settled upon them⁴. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has given us the institutions of Romulus, and of Numa, for the establishing the Roman priesthood; and in the times of Plato⁵ and Aristotle⁶, though the political writers were

¹ Lucian. in Saturnal.

² Athenæus Deipnos. lib. xiv, p. 639.

³ Leviticus xxv, et in loc. al.

⁴ Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 73, p. 47, ed. Rhodoman.

⁵ Lib. ii, Rom. Antiq.

⁶ De Repub. lib. vii, c. 8.

not unanimous how they were to be created, yet they were agreed, that an established priesthood was necessary in every state or kingdom. But the ancient Indians, according to Diodorus, had originally no such order. Diodorus indeed says, that the philosophers were sent for by private persons of their acquaintance, to their sacrifices and funerals, being esteemed persons much in favour with the gods, and of great skill in the ceremonies to be performed on such occasions⁷. But we must observe, that they were sent for, not as priests to sacrifice, but as learned and good men, able to instruct the common unlearned people how to pay their worship to the Deity in the best manner. Therefore Diodorus justly distinguishes, and calls the part they performed on these occasions, not *λειτουργία*, which would have been the proper term had they been priests for the people, but *υπουργία*, because they only assisted them on these occasions⁸. It will be asked, how came these nations to have no national priests appointed, as there were in some other kingdoms? I answer; God originally appointed who should be the priest to every family, or to any number of families when assembled together, namely the first born or eldest⁹; and as no man could justly take this honour to himself, but

⁷ Lib. ii, sec. 32, p. 125. His words are, *οι φιλοσοφοι— παραλαμβάνονται υπο των ιδιων εις τε τας εν τω βιω θυσιας και εις τας των τετελευτηκοτων επιμελειας, ως Θεοις γεγονοτες προσφιλεσται, και περι των εν Αδω μαλιστα εμπειρως εχοντες.*

⁸ Diodor. Sic. *ibid.*

⁹ See vol. i, b. v.

he that was called or appointed by GOD to it¹; and as GOD gave no farther directions in this matter until he appointed the priesthood of Aaron for the children of Israel; so Noah had no authority to make constitutions in this matter, but was himself the priest to all his children, and each of his sons to their respective families in the same manner, as before civil societies were erected. This I think must have been the true reason for their having no established priests originally in these nations. And from this circumstance, as well as from those before-mentioned, I imagine, 5. That civil government was in these kingdoms built upon the foundation of paternal authority. Noah was the father, the priest, and became the king of all his people; which was an easy transition; for who could possibly have authority to set up against him? It is not likely that his children who continued with him would not readily obey his orders, and rank themselves in political life according to his appointment. At his death the priesthood descended to the eldest son, and the rule and authority of civil governor followed of course; for how could it well be otherwise? Something extraordinary must happen before any particular person would attempt to set himself above one, to whom his religion had in some measure subjected him: therefore the eldest son at the father's death being the only person who could of right be priest to his brethren

¹ Hebrews v, 4.

and their children, unto him only must be their desire, and he must be the only person who could without difficulty and opposition rule over them. This method of erecting governments is so easy and natural, that some very learned writers cannot conceive how civil government could possibly be raised upon any other foundation. However, the most convincing evidences against their opinion will appear, when we come to examine the kingdoms erected by the men who lived at, and dispersed from, the land of Shinaar. It is natural to think, that Noah formed his children, who lived under him, in this method. And if he had even divided the world between his three sons, as some writers have without any reason supposed, giving Afric to Ham, Europe to Japhet, and placing Shem in Asia, he no doubt would have instructed them to observe this method all over the world. But how can we imagine that Noah ever thought of making any other division of the world, than merely to direct his children to remove and separate from one another, when they found it inconvenient to live together? He taught them a method by which many families might join, and make their numbers of use and service to the whole community; but they who would not follow his directions took their own way, and travelled to a place far distant, where they afterward settled upon different maxims, and at different times, as accidental circumstances directed and contributed to it. But, 6. By supposing that Noah founded the eastern king-

doms of India and China upon the model I have mentioned, we see clearly how these nations came to be so potent and able to resist all attacks made upon them; as Ninus and Semiramis experienced, when they attempted to invade and over-run them². If Noah appointed a soldiery in each of these kingdoms almost as numerous as their husbandmen, and they began to form and exercise themselves so early as about A. M. 1736; since it appears that Ninus did not invade Bactria and India until almost three hundred years after this time; these nations must, before he invaded them, have become very considerable for their military strength, and far superior to any armies that could come from Shinaar. 7. The supposing these kingdoms to differ very little at present in their constitution, from what they were at their first settlement, is very consistent with the accounts we have of their present letters and language. In both these they seem to have made very little or no improvement³, but have adhered very strictly to their first rudiments; and why may we not very justly suppose that they have been equally tenacious of their original settlement and constitution? But let us now come to the nations and governors, which arose from and in the land of Shinaar.

Nimrod was the first of them. Polybius has conjectured, that the first kings in the world

² See vol. i. b. iv.

³ Ibid. b. ii; b. iv.

obtained their dominion by being superior to all others in strength and courage⁴; and it very evidently appears, that this was the foundation of Nimrod's authority. He was a *mighty hunter*, and from hence he began to be a mighty one in the earth⁵. When the confusion of tongues caused the builders of Babel to separate, they must have known that it was necessary not to break into very small companies; for if they had, the wild beasts would have been too hard for them. Plato thinks, that mankind in the first ages lived up and down, one here and another there, until the fear of the wild beasts compelled them to unite in bodies for their preservation⁶. This does not seem to be true in fact; for mankind always from the beginning lived in some sort of companies; and the beasts, which in time became wild and ravenous, do not appear to have been so at first, or at least not knowing the strength of man, they were not so ready to assault him: but the fear of man, and the dread of man was upon them⁷. And mankind, in the ages before the flood, tamed them, or reduced them to a great degree; which is evident both from Noah's being able to get all sorts of living creatures into his

⁴ Polybius, lib. vi, p. 361.

⁵ Gen. x, 8, 9.

⁶ Οὕτω δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι οἱ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἄνθρωποι, ὡκνῶν σποραδὴν πόλεις δὲ ἐκ ἥσαν· ἀπωλλύντο ἐν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, διὰ τὸ πανταχὴ αὐτῶν ἀσθενέστεροι εἶναι· ἡ δὲ δημιουργικὴ τέχνη αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν τροφὴν ἰκανὴ βοήθος ἦν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν τῶν θηρίων πόλεμον ἐνδεής. Plato. in Protag. p. 224.

⁷ Gen. ix, 2.

ark, and from its being capable of containing some of every kind and species. But after the flood, near a hundred years had passed before any human inhabitant had come to dwell in these countries; and the beasts, which might have roved hither, had had time to multiply in great numbers, and to contract a wild and savage nature, and prodigious fierceness; so that it could not be safe for individuals, or very small companies of men, to hazard themselves amongst them. But Nimrod taught his followers how they might attempt to conquer and reduce them; and being a man of superior strength, as well as courage, it was as natural for the rest of the company to follow him as their captain, or leader, as it is, to use Polybius's comparison⁸, for the cattle to follow the stoutest and strongest in the herd. And when he was thus become their captain, he quickly became their judge in all debates which might arise, and their ruler and director in all the affairs and offices of civil life⁹. In a little time he turned his thoughts from hunting to building cities, and endeavoured to instruct those, who had put themselves under him, in the best and most commodious ways of living¹; but whoever considers what age he could be of, when

⁸ Lib. vi, sec. iii, p. 631.

⁹ Όταν ο προεσως και την μεγαλην δυναμιν εχων αι συνεπισχυη τοις προειρημενοις κατα τας των πολλων διαλεξεις, και δοξη τοις υποταττομενοις διανεμητικος ειναι τς κατ' αξιαν εκαστοις· εκ επι την βιαν διδιστες, τη δε γνωμη ευδοκωντες υποταττονται, και συσσωζει την αρχην αυτε. Polyb. Histor. lib. vi, sec. 4,

¹ See vol. i, b. iv.

he began to be a ruler², and the hint which Moses gives of his hunting, must think it most reasonable to found his dominion upon his strength and valour, which certainly was the cause of his first rise. In the early ages a large stature, and prodigious strength were the most engaging qualifications to raise men to be commanders and kings. We read in Aristotle³, that the Ethiopians anciently chose persons of the largest stature to be their kings; and though Saul was made king of Israel by the special appointment of God, yet it appears to have been no inconsiderable circumstance in the eyes of his people, that he was *a choice and goodly young man: and there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he: from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people*⁴. Polybius remarks, that whenever experience convinced them, that other qualifications besides strength and a warlike disposition were necessary for the people's happiness, then they chose persons of the greatest prudence and wisdom for their governors⁵; which seems to have been the fact in the land of Shinaar, when Nimrod died, and Belus was made king after his decease⁶.

All the kingdoms, which were raised by the men of Shinaar, were not built upon this foundation. Nimrod began as a captain, his subjects being at

² See vol. i, b. iv.

³ Aristot. de Repub. lib. iv, c. 4.

⁵ Polyb. lib. vi, c. 5.

⁴ 1 Sam. ix, 2.

⁶ See vol. i, b. iv.

first only soldiers under him; but probably some other societies began in the order of masters and servants. Some wise and understanding men, who knew how to contrive methods for tilling and cultivating the ground, for managing cattle, and for pruning and planting fruit trees, and preserving and using the fruits, took into their families and promised to provide for such as would become their servants, and be subject to their direction. Servitude is very justly defined by the Civilians to be a state of subjection *contra naturam*⁷, very different from and contrary to the natural rights of mankind; and they endeavour to qualify the assertion of Aristotle⁸, who thought that some persons were by nature designed for servitude. The established politics of all nations, with which Aristotle was acquainted, could hardly fail to bias him in this opinion. We have now a truer sense of things than to think, that GOD has made some persons to be slaves and the mere property of others. GOD has indeed given different abilities both of mind and body to different men. Some are best able by their powers of mind to invent and contrive, and others more fit to execute with strength those designs, which are, by the directions of other people, marked out and contrived for them. In this way all mankind are made serviceable to one another, without absolute dominion in some, or slavery in others; which is fully experi-

⁷ Justinian. Institut. lib. i, tit. 3.

⁸ Politic. lib. i, c. 5

enced in Christian kingdoms. Busbequius⁹, a very ingenious writer, queries much, whether the abolishing servitude has been advantageous to the public; but I cannot think what he has said for his opinion is at all conclusive. The grandeur of particular persons may be greater, where they are surrounded with multitudes of slaves; but a community, which consists of none but citizens, is in a better capacity to procure and improve the advantages, which arise from government and society; such a body is, I may say, politically alive in all its parts and members, and every individual has a real interest of its own depending in the public good. As to all the inconveniences arising from, or miscarriages of the low vulgar people; not their liberty, but an abuse of it is the cause of them, and they may be as easily taught to be good citizens in their stations, as good servants. Now this sense of things prevailed in the parts where Noah settled¹; but his children, who left him and travelled to Shinaar, quickly fell into other politics. At the time of the confusion of tongues, they had practised or cultivated but few arts to provide for the necessities of life. They had travelled from Ararat to Shinaar, and engaged in a wild project to little purpose of building a tower, but had not laid any

⁹ Epist. 3.

¹ Diodorus Siculus says of the ancient Indians, that they every one took care, *ελευθερον υπαρχοντα την ισοτητα τιμαν εν πασι· τας γαρ μαζοντας μηθ' υπερεχειν μηθ' υποπιπλειν αλλοις, κρατιστον εξειν βιον προς απασας τας περισασεις.*

wise schemes for a settled life. But when they resolved to till the earth, it naturally occurred that those, who knew how to manage and direct in ordering the ground, should take under their care those who were not so skilful, and provide for them, employing them to work under their direction. Husbandry, in the early days, before the seasons were known, was, as I have said, very imperfect, and there were but few whom we can suppose to have had much skill in it; so that those who had, must everywhere have as many hands at their disposal as they knew how to employ, and were soon attended with a great number of servants. It is very evident, that the heads of Abraham's family acquired servants in this manner very early; for Abraham himself, though perhaps the greatest part of his father's house remained at Haran², and some part were gone with Lot³, before he had lived half his life, was master of three hundred and eighteen servants; nay they were (Chanikei) trained servants⁴ or brought up to be warriors. He had probably many others besides these, and all these were born in his house⁵, and he had others bought with his money⁶; from whence it appears plainly, that servitude arose very early amongst these men. The confusion of tongues broke all their measures of living together; and they had lived a wandering life, without cultivating

² Gen. xi, 31.³ Gen. xiii.⁴ Gen. xiv. 14.⁵ Ibid.⁶ Gen. xvii, 27.

any useful arts to provide themselves a livelihood. So when they came to settle, the unskilful multitude found it their best way to take the course which Posidonius the Stoic mentions; to become voluntary servants to others, obliging themselves to be at their command, bargaining to receive the necessaries of life for it; ἐθέλον δ' ἀνευ μισθοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς καταμενεῖν ἐπὶ σιτίοις, says Eubulus⁷. They knew not how to provide themselves food and raiment, and were therefore desirous to submit to masters, who could provide these things for them. It was no easy thing for men of little genius and low parts to live independent in those early days; therefore multitudes of people thought it far safer to live under the care and provision of those who knew how to manage than to set up for themselves. They thought, like Chalinus in Plautus, who would not part with the person promised him in marriage, though he might have had his liberty for her; but replied to his master, *Liber si sim, meo periculo vivam, nunc vivo tuo*⁸. He was well contented with his condition; a security of having necessaries was in his opinion a full recompence for all the inconveniences of a servile state. Many families were raised in this manner, perhaps, amongst Nimrod's subjects; some of whom, when they thought themselves in a condition for it, removed from under him, and planted kingdoms in coun-

⁷ Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, lib. ii, c. v, sec. 27.

⁸ Plautus Casina, Act. ii, Scen. 4.

tries at a distance. Thus Ashur went out of his land into Assyria, and with his followers built cities there⁹; and many other leading men, who had never been subject to him, formed companies in this manner, and planted them in places where they chose to settle. Abraham had a very numerous company, before he had a paternal right to govern any one person; for he was not the eldest son of his father¹; nor was he the father of one child, when he led his men to fight with the king of Elam and his confederates². Thus Esau, who had but five sons by his three wives, besides some daughters³, though he did not marry nor attempt to settle in the world until he was forty years old, had, before he was a hundred, when he went to meet Jacob on his return from Laban, a family so numerous, as to afford him four hundred men to attend him upon any expedition⁴, and with these and the increase of them, his children made themselves dukes, and in time kings of Edom⁵.

Thus it is certain that kingdoms were raised by men of prudence and sagacity, in taking and providing for a number of servants. Sometimes a very potent kingdom arose from several of these families agreeing to settle under the direction of him who had the superior family at the time of their settlement, or was best able to manage for the

⁹ Gen. x, 11.¹ Vol. i, b. v.² Gen. xiv.³ Gen. xxxvi.⁴ Gen. xxxiii, 1.⁵ Gen. xxxvi.

public welfare. At other times one family became a kingdom, nay, and sometimes one family branched and divided itself into several little nations; for thus there were twelve princes descended from Ishmael⁶. In all these cases, the first masters of the families began with a few servants, increased them by degrees, and in time their servants grew too numerous to be contained in one and the same family with their masters; and when they did so, their masters appointed them a way of living, which should not intirely free them from subjection, but yet give them some liberty and property of their own. Eumæus in Homer, the keeper of Ulysses's cattle, had a little house, a wife and family, and perquisites, so as to have wherewith to entertain a stranger in a manner suitable to the condition of a servant⁷, whose business was to manage his master's cattle, and supply his table from the produce. Tacitus⁸ informs us, that the servants of the ancient Germans lived in this manner; who were not employed in domestic attendance, but had their several houses and families; and the owner of the substance committed to their care required from them a quantity of corn, a number of cattle, or such clothing or commodities as he had occasion for. At first a family could wander like that of Abraham; but by degrees it must multiply to too great a bulk to be so moveable or manageable; and then the master or

⁶ Gen. xvii, 20, xxv, 16.

⁷ Odyss. lib. xiv.

⁸ Lib. de moribus Germanorum.

head of it suffered little families to grow up under him, planting them here and there within the extent of his possessions, and reaping from their labours a large and plentiful provision for his own domestics. In time, when the number of these families encreased, he would want inspectors or overseers of his servants in their several employments; and by degrees the grandeur and wealth of the master increased, and the privileges of the servants grew with it. Heads of families became kings, and their houses, together with the near habitations of their domestics, became cities; then their servants, in their several occupations and employments, became wealthy and considerable subjects; and the inspectors or overseers of them became ministers of state, and managers of the public affairs of kingdoms. If we consider the ancient tenures of land in many nations, we shall find abundant reason to suppose that the property of subjects in divers kingdoms began from this origin. Kings, or planters of countries, employed their servants to till the ground; and in time both the masters and servants grew rich and increased; the masters gave away their land to their servants, reserving only to themselves portions of the product, or some services from those who occupied them. Thus servants became tenants, and tenants in time became owners, and owners held their lands under various tenures, daily emerging into more and more liberty; and in length of time getting quit of all the burden, and even almost

of the very marks of servitude, with which estates were at first encumbered. There may, I think, be many reasons assigned for thinking that the kingdom of Assyria, first founded by Ashur, the kingdom of the Medes, and particularly that of Persia, as well as other kingdoms, remarkably subject by their most ancient constitutions to despotic authority, were at first raised upon these foundations. And perhaps the kingdoms of the Philistines, governed by Abimelech in Abraham's time, was of the same sort; for that king seems to have had the property of all the land of Philistia, when he gave Abraham leave to live where he would⁹, for Abimelech's subjects seem everywhere to be called his servants¹; and his fear and concern about Abraham was not upon account of his people, but of himself, and of his son's son². In the days of Isaac, when he went into the land of the Philistines to sojourn, about a hundred years after the time when Abraham lived there, the Philistines seem from servants to have become subjects, in the way I have before mentioned, and accordingly Moses's style about them is altered. The persons who in Abraham's time were called Abimelech's servants³, were in Isaac's time called Abimelech's people⁴, or the men of Gerar⁵, or the Philistines⁶, or the herdsmen of Gerar. In Abraham's time the kingdom of Philistia was in its in-

⁹ Gen. xx, 15.

² Ver. 23.

⁴ Chap. xxvi, ver. 11.

¹ Ver. 8, and xxi, 25.

³ Gen. xx, 8, and xxi, 25.

⁵ Ver. 7.

⁶ Ver. 14.

fancy; in Isaac's days, the king and his servants with him were in a better condition⁷.

Most of the kingdoms in and near Canaan seem to have been originally so constituted, that the people in them had great liberty and power. One would almost think that the children of Heth had no king, when Abraham petitioned them for a burying place⁸; for he did not make his address to a particular person, but *stood up and bowed himself to the people of the land, even to the children of Heth*⁹. And when Ephron and he bargained, their agreement was ratified by a popular council¹. If Heth was king of this country, his people had a great share in the administration. Thus it was at Shechem, where Hamor was king; the prince determined nothing wherein the public was concerned, without communing with the men of his city about it². The kingdom of Egypt was not at first founded upon despotic authority; where the king had his estates or patrimony, the priests had their lands, and the common people had their patrimony independent of both. Thus we read of the land of Rameses³, which was the king's land, so called from a king of that name⁴. The priests

⁷ I need not observe that Abimelech seems to be a proper name for the kings of Philistia, as Pharaoh was for those of Egypt. And Phicol was so likewise for one employed in the post which the persons so named enjoyed.

⁸ Gen. xxiii.

⁹ Ver. 7.

¹ Ver. 10, 13.

² Chap. xxxiv, 20, 24.

³ Chap. xlvii, 11.

⁴ Rameses was the eighteenth king of Lower Egypt, according to Sir J. Marsham, from Syncellus, p. 29.

had their lands, which they did not sell to Joseph⁵; and that the people had lands independent of the crown is evident from the purchases which Joseph made⁶. For we may conclude from these purchases, that Pharaoh had no power to raise taxes upon his subjects to increase his own revenue, until he had bought the original right, which each private person had in his possessions, for this Joseph did for him; and when this was done, Joseph raised the crown a very ample revenue, by granting all the lands, reserving a fifth part of the product to be paid to the king⁷. We may observe likewise that the people of Egypt well understood the distinction between subjects and servants; for when they came to sell their land, they offered to sell themselves too; and desired Joseph, saying, *buy us and our land, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh*⁸. Diodorus Siculus has given a full and true account of the ancient Egyptian constitution⁹; where he says the land was divided into three parts. 1. One part was the priest's, with which they provided all sacrifices, and maintained all the ministers of religion. 2. A second part was the king's, to support his court and family, and supply expenses for wars, if they should happen; and he remarks, that the king having so ample an estate, raised no taxes upon his subjects. 3. The remainder of the land

⁵ Gen. xlvii, 22, 26.

⁶ Ver. 19, 20.

⁷ Ver. 24.

⁸ Ver. 18.

⁹ Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 72, 73, &c., p. 66.

was divided amongst the subjects, whom Diodorus calls soldiers, not making a distinction, because soldiers and subjects in most nations were the same; and it was the ancient practice for all that held lands in a kingdom, to go to war when occasion required. He says, likewise, that there were three other orders of men in the kingdom, husbandmen, shepherds, and artificers; but these were not, strictly speaking, citizens of the kingdom, but servants or tenants, or workmen to those who were the owners of the lands and cattle. When Mizraim led his followers into Egypt, it is most probable that many considerable persons joined their families and went with him; and these families being independent, until they agreed upon a coalition for their common advantage, it is natural to think, that they agreed upon a plan which might gratify every family, and its descendants, with a suitable property, which they might improve as their own. Herodotus gives an account of the Egyptian polity¹; where he says, that the Egyptians were divided into seven orders of men; but he takes in the tillers of the ground or husbandmen, the artificers, and the shepherds, who were at first only servants employed by the masters of the families to whom they belonged, and not free subjects of the kingdom; and adds an order of seamen, which must be of later date. Herodotus's account might perhaps be true respecting their constitution, in times

¹ Lib, ii, c. 163, &c.

much later than those of which I am treating. There is one thing very remarkable in the first polity of kingdoms; namely, that the legislators paid a surprising deference to the paternal authority, or jurisdiction which fathers were thought to have over their children, and were extremely cautious how they made any state-laws which might affect it. When Romulus had framed the Roman constitution, he did not attempt to limit the powers which parents were thought to have over their children; so that, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus observes, a father had full power, either to imprison, or enslave, or to sell, or to inflict the severest corporal punishments upon, or to kill his son, even though the son at that very time was in the highest employments of the state, and bore his office with the greatest public applause². And when Numa attempted to limit this extravagant power, he carried his limitation no farther than to appoint, that a son, if married with his father's consent, should in some measure be freed from so unlimited a subjection.

The first legislators cannot be supposed to have attempted any other improvements of their country, than what would naturally arise from agriculture, pasturage, and planting; for traffic began in after-ages. Hence it soon appeared, that in fertile and open countries, they had abundance of people more than they could employ; for few hands would quickly learn to produce a maintenance for more

² Dionys. Halicar. lib. ii, c. 26, 27.

than was necessary for the tillage of the ground, or the care of the cattle. But in mountainous and woody countries, where fruitful and open plains were rarely met with, men multiplied faster than they could be maintained. Hence it came to pass that these countries commonly sent forth frequent colonies and plantations, when their inhabitants were so numerous, that their *land could not bear them*; i. e. could not produce a sufficient maintenance for them. But in more fruitful nations, where greater multitudes could be supported, the kings had at their command great bodies of men, and employed them either in raising prodigious buildings, or formed them into powerful armies. Thus in Egypt they built pyramids, at Babylon they encompassed the city with walls of an incredible height and thickness, and they conquered and brought into subjection all the nations round about them.

The first kings laid no sort of tax upon their subjects, to maintain either soldiers or servants; for all the tribute they took was from strangers, and their own people were free. But they had in every country larger portions of land than their subjects, and whenever they conquered foreign kingdoms they encreased their revenue by laying an annual tribute or tax upon them. Ninus was the first king who took this course³; he overran all his neighbours with his armies, and obliged them to buy

³ Justin. lib. i, c. 1.

their peace by paying yearly such tribute as he thought fit to exact from them. The conquered nations, however free the subjects of them were at home, with regard to their own king, were yet justly said to be under the yoke of foreign servitude, and were looked upon by the king, who had conquered them, as larger farms, to yield him such an annual product as he thought fit to set upon them; and the king and all the people of them, though they were commonly permitted to live according to their own laws, were yet reputed the conqueror's servants. Thus the kings of Canaan, when they became tributary, were said to serve Chedorlaomer⁴; and thus Xerxes, when Pythius the Lydian, presuming upon his being in great favour with the king, ventured to petition to have one of his sons excused from following the army, remonstrated to him, that he was his servant⁵. The Persians are frequently called by Cyrus in Xenophon *ἄνδρες Περσῶν*, or *men of Persia*, *Φίλοι*, *the king's friends*; and Xerxes keeps up in his answer to Pythius the same distinction, when he mentions that his children, his relations, his domestics, and then his natural subjects, whom he calls his *φίλος*, went with him to the war. And dare you, says he, who are my servant, *ἐμὸς δέσλος*, talk of your son? Lydia was a conquered kingdom; and so Pythius and all the Lydians were the king's property, to do with them as he thought fit. And they sometimes

⁴ Gen. xiv, 4.

⁵ Herodot. lib. vii, c. 99.

used those they had conquered accordingly, removing them out of one nation into another as they pleased. But I think, that the extravagances of ambitious conquerors are not so much to be wondered at as the politics of Aristotle, who has laid down such principles as, if true, would justify all the wars and bloodshed that an ambitious prince can be guilty of. He mentions war as one of the natural ways of getting an estate; for he says, "It is a sort of hunting, which is to be made use of against the wild beasts, and against those men, who, born by nature for servitude, will not submit to it; so that a war upon these is naturally just⁶."

Diodorus Siculus remarks⁷, that it was not the ancient custom for sons to succeed their fathers, and inherit their crowns. This observation was fact in many kingdoms; but then it could be only where kingdoms were not raised upon paternal or despotic authority. Where paternal authority took place, the kingdom would of course descend as that did, and the eldest son become at his father's death the ruler over his father's children. Where kingdoms arose from masters and their servants, the right heir of the substance would be the right heir to the crown; which we find was the Persian constitution. The subjects, having originally been servants, did not apprehend that they had any right or pretence ever to become kings; but that

⁶ Aristot. Politic. lib. i, c. 8.

⁷ Hist. lib. i, p. 28.

the crown was always to be given to one of royal blood⁸. But in kingdoms, which were founded by a number of families, uniting together by agreement to form a civil society, the subjects upon every vacancy chose a king as they thought fit; and the personal qualifications of the person to be elected, and not his birth, procured his election. Many instances of this might be produced from the ancient kingdoms of Greece; and very convincing ones from the first Roman kings, of whom Plutarch observes, that none of them succeeded in his kingdom by his son⁹; and Florus has remarked of each of them severally, what the qualifications were which recommended them to the choice of the people¹. That Egypt was anciently an elective kingdom is evident from Plutarch², who remarks, that their kings were taken either from amongst their soldiers or their priests, as they had occasion for a prince of great wisdom or valour. But, whatever were the original constitutions of kingdoms, it is certain, that power has always in all nations been more or less fluctuating between the prince and the people; and many states have from arbitrary kingdoms become in time republics, and from republics become in length of time arbitrary king-

⁸ Brissonius de Regno Persarum, lib. i.

⁹ Plutarch. lib. de Animi Tranquillitate, p. 467.

¹ L. Flor. Hist. lib. i, c. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7; see also Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. i.

² Οι δε βασιλεις απεδεικνυντο μεν εκ των ιερειων η των μαχιμων, τω μεν δι ανδριαν, τω δε δια σοφιαν γενεσ αξιωμα και τιτην εχοντος.

doms again, from various accidents and revolutions, as Polybius has observed at large³.

It has been an ancient opinion, that kings had the right to their crowns by a special appointment from Heaven. Homer is everywhere full of this. The sceptres of his kings were commonly given either to them or some of their ancestors by Jupiter. Thus Agamemnon's sceptre was made by Vulcan, and by Vulcan given to Jupiter, by Jupiter to Mercury, by Mercury to Pelops, by Pelops to Atreus, by Atreus to Thyestes, and by Thyestes to Agamemnon⁴. And this account came to be so firmly believed, that the men of Chæronea paid divine worship to a spear, which they said was this celestial sceptre of Agamemnon⁵. Homer places the authority of all his kings upon this foundation, and he gives us his opinion at large in the case of Telemachus⁶. He introduces Antinous, one of the suitors, as alarmed at the threatenings of Telemachus; and therefore, though he acknowledges his

³ Historiar. lib. vi, c. 5, 6, &c.

⁴ Il. ii, ver. 101.

⁵ Pausanias in Bæoticis, p. 795.

⁶ Odyss. i, ver. 388:

Τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλεμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδα·
 Καὶ κεν τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιμι Διὸς γε δίδοντος ἀρεσθαι.
 Ἄλλ' ἦτοι βασιλῆες Ἀχαιῶν εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι
 Πολλοὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ, νεοὶ ἦδ' ἐπαλαιοί·
 Τῶν κεν τις τοδ' ἐχῆσιν, ἐπεὶ θεῶν Διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς·
 Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οἰκοῖο ἀναξ' ἐσομ' ἡμετέροιο,
 Καὶ δμῶν οὐς μοι ληίσσατο Διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς.
 Τὸν δ' αὖ Ἐυρυμαχος Πολυβὲς παῖς ἀντίον ἦδα·
 Τηλεμαχ', ἦτοι ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γένεσσι κεῖται,
 Ὅς τις ἐν ἀμφιάλῳ Ἰθάκῃ βασιλεύσει Ἀχαιῶν.

paternal right to the crown of Ithaca, when Ulysses should be dead, yet he wished that there might not be a vacancy for him for many years. Telemachus, in his reply, is made to speak as if he depended but little upon hereditary right, and says, that he should willingly accept the crown if Jupiter should give it; but that there were kings of Greece, and many persons of Ithaca, both young and old, who perhaps might have it at the death of Ulysses; but that he would be master of his father's house, servants, and substance. Eurymachus replies, and confirms what Telemachus had said, asserting, that Telemachus should certainly possess his father's house, servants, and substance; but that, as to who should be king of Ithaca, it must be left to the gods. Romulus endeavoured to build his authority upon the same foundation; and therefore, when the people were disposed to have him for their king, he refused to take the honour until the gods should give some sign to confirm it to him. So, upon an appointed day, after due sacrifice and prayers offered to the gods, he was consecrated king by an auspicious thunder⁷. At what time the heathen nations embraced these sentiments I cannot certainly say, but I suppose not before God had appointed the Israelites a king. For the ancient writers speak of the kings who reigned before that time in no such strain, as may be seen from Pausanias's account of the first kings of

⁷ Dionysius Halicarnassus, lib. ii, c. 5.

Greece, as well as from other writers. But when God had by a special appointment given the Israelites a king, the kings of other nations were fond of claiming to themselves such a designation from Heaven, lest they should seem to fall short in honour and glory of the Jewish governors. Homer, who, according to Herodotus, introduced a new theology⁸, introduced also the account of the origin of the authority of their kings into Greece. Virgil embraced this scheme of Homer, and in compliment to Augustus, the Roman republic being overthrown, laid the foundation of Æneas's right to govern the Trojans, who fled with him from the ruins of their city, upon a divine designation of him to be their king, revealed to him by the apparition of Hector⁹, and confirmed by Pantheus, the priest of Apollo, who brought and delivered to him the *sacra* and sacred images¹, of which Hector had declared him the guardian and protector.

It has been the opinion of some modern writers, that these ancients were very weak politicians in matters of religion, and were an easy prey to priestcraft. The Earl of Shaftesbury is very copious upon this topic², and his followers commonly think that his argumentations of this sort are conclusive. Let us, therefore, examine how well they are grounded.

We have as full and large an account of the first

⁸ Herodot. lib. ii, c. 53.

⁹ Virg. Æn. ii, ver. 268.

¹ Ibid. ver. 321, &c.

² Characteristics, vol. iii, Misc. 2.

settlement of the Roman priesthood as of any; so that I shall examine this first, and then add what may be offered about the established priesthood of other nations. And, first of all, Romulus appointed, that the king should be the head and controller of all the *sacra* and sacrifices³; and under himself he appointed proper persons for the due performance of the offices of religion, having first made a general law, that none but the nobility should be employed either in offices of state or of religion⁴. The particular qualifications of the priests were⁵, 1. They were to be of the best families. 2. They were to be men of the most eminent virtue. 3. They were to be persons who had an estate sufficient to live on. 4. And without any bodily blemish or imperfection. 5. They were to be above fifty years of age. These were the qualifications requisite for their being admitted into the religious order. Let us now see what they were to get by it: and, 1. They were put to no expense in the performance of their ministrations; for as the king had in his hands lands set apart on purpose for the providing the public sacrifices, building and repairing temples, altars, and bearing all the expenses of religion, so a set sum was paid to the priests of each division, to bear the expenses

³ Βασιλεῖ μὲν ἐν ἐξήρητο ταδε τὰ γερά: πρῶτον μὲν ἱερῶν καὶ θυσιῶν ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι, καὶ πάντα δι' ἐκείνου πρᾶττεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια. Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, c. 14.

⁴ Διεταττεῖν τοὺς μὲν εὐπατρίδας ἱερασθαι τε, καὶ ἀρχεῖν καὶ δικάζειν, καὶ μεθ' αὐτοὺς τὰ κοινὰ πρᾶττεῖν. Id. ibid. c. 9.

⁵ Id. ibid. c. 21.

of their sacrifices. 2. They themselves were exempted from the fatigue of going to war, and from bearing city offices. 3. Besides these slender privileges, I do not find that they received any profits from their office; for it is evident they had no stipend nor salaries. Ministers of state, and ministers of religion also, had no advantages of this sort in early times⁶, as is abundantly evident from one of the reasons given for choosing the nobility only to these employments; namely, because the plebeians or common people could not afford to give away their time in attending upon them. As to their number, which Lord Shaftesbury thinks was without end or measure, Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, that no city ever had so many originally as Rome; and he observes, that Romulus appointed sixty⁷; telling us withal, elsewhere, that his people were, when he first settled the commonwealth, two thousand three hundred men, besides women and children; and when he died they were above forty thousand⁸. There were, indeed, over and besides these, three Augurs, or *ιεροσκόποι*, appointed by Romulus; and there were afterwards three Flamines, who, I think, were first instituted by Numa; as were the Vestal Virgins, who were in number four⁹; and the Salii, who were in number twelve¹. He instituted also the college of the Feciales, who

⁶ Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii. c. 9.

⁷ Id. *ibid.* c. 21.

⁹ Id. *ibid.* c. 67.

⁸ Id. *ibid.* c. 16.

¹ Id. *ibid.* c. 70.

were in number twenty²: but these were chiefly employed in civil affairs; for they were the arbitrators of all controversies relating to war or peace, and heralds and ambassadors to foreign states³. Lastly, Numa appointed the Pontifices Maximi, being four in number, of which himself was the first⁴; and these persons were the supreme judges of all matters, civil or religious. But all these officers were chosen out of the noblest and wealthiest families; and they brought wealth into, and added lustre to the offices they bore, instead of coming into them for the sake of lucre and advantage. If we were to look farther into the Roman state, we should find some additions made to the number of the ministers of religion, as the city grew in wealth and power; for when the plebeians grew wealthy, and were able to bear them, they would not be excluded from religious offices; and so there were in time twelve Flamens elected from the commons, and twelve Salii were added to Numa's twelve by Tullus Hostilius. Tarquinius Superbus appointed two officers to be the keepers of the Sibylline oracles; and their number was afterwards increased to ten, and by Sylla to fifteen, and in later ages they had particular Flamens for particular deities. But take an estimate of the Roman religion, when their priests were most numerous, at any time from the building of the city to Julius Cæsar, and it will appear, that ancient

² Dionys. Halicarn. lib. ii. c. 72; Plutarch. in Numa.

³ Id. *ibid.* c. 63.

⁴ Id. *ibid.*; Plut. in Numa.

Rome was not overburthened with either the number or expense of the religious orders.

Let us in the next place look into Greece. Dionysius of Halicarnassus frequently remarks concerning Romulus's religious institutions, that they were formed according to the Greek plans; so that we may guess in general, that the Greeks were not more burthened in these matters than he burthened the Romans; especially if we consider what he remarks upon Numa's institutions, that no foreign city whatever, whether Grecian or of any other country, had so many religious institutions as the Romans⁵, a remark he had before made, even when Romulus settled the first orders⁶. The writers of the Greek antiquities are pretty much at a loss to enumerate the several orders of their priests⁷; they name but few, and these were rather the assistants than the priests who offered the sacrifices. And I imagine, that the true reason why we have no account of them is, because there were in the most ancient times no particular persons set apart for these offices in the Grecian states, but the kings and rulers performed the public offices of religion for their people, and every master of a family sacrificed in private for his children and servants. If we look over Homer's poems, we shall find this observation verified by many instances. After Agamemnon was constituted the head of the Grecian army, we find him everywhere at the public

⁵ Dionys. Halicarn. lib. ii, sec. 63.

⁶ Id. ibid. sec. 21.

⁷ See Potter's Antiquities, b. ii, c. 3.

sacrifices performing the priest's office⁸, and the other Grecian kings and heroes had their parts under him in the ministration. Thus Peleus the father of Achilles performed the office of priest in his own kingdom, when Nestor and Ulysses went to see him, and Patroclus, Achilles, and Menœtius ministered⁹; and Achilles offered the sacrifices, and performed the funeral rites for Patroclus¹. Thus again in the Odyssey, when Nestor made a sacrifice to Minerva, Stratius and the noble Echephron led the bull to the altar, Aretus brought the water, and canisters of corn, Persens brought the vessel to receive the blood; but Nestor himself made the libations, and began the ceremony with prayers. The magnanimous Thrasymedes, son of Nestor, knocked down the ox; then the wife of Nestor, his daughters, and his sons' wives, offered their prayers; then Pisistratus, *ορχαμος ανδρων*, perhaps the captain of the host, an officer in such a post as Phichol under Abimelech², stabbed the beast: then they all joined in cutting it in pieces, and disposing it upon the altar, and after all was ready,

Καιε δ' επι σχιζης ο γεγων, επι δ' αιδοπα οινον
Λειβε'

Nestor himself was the priest, and offered the sacrifice³. Many instances of this sort might be brought from both Iliad and Odyssey. If we ex-

⁸ Iliad. γ, Iliad. η, et in al. loc.

⁹ Iliad. λ.

¹ Iliad. ψ. ² Gen. xxvi, 26.

³ Odyss. γ, ver. 460, &c.

amine the accounts which the best historians give us, they all tend to confirm this point. Lycurgus was remarkably frugal in the sacrifices he appointed⁴; and the Lacedemonians had no public priests in his days, nor for some time after, but their kings. Plutarch tells us, that when they went to battle, the king performed the sacrifice⁵; and Xenophon says, that the king performed the public sacrifices before the city⁶, and that in the army his chief business was, to have the supreme command of the forces, and to be their priest in the offices of religion⁷. This was the practice when Agesilaus was chosen king of Sparta; for after he was made king, he offered the usual sacrifices for the city⁸. And in his expedition against the Persians, he would have sacrificed at Aulis, a town of Bœotia, as Agamemnon did upon undertaking the Trojan war; but the Thebans, not being well affected to him or to the Lacedemonians, would not permit him⁹. In a word, we have no reason to think, from any thing we can find in the Greek history, that the ancient Greeks, until some ages after Homer, had any other public ministers of religion, than those who were the kings and governors of the state. Fathers of families (even though they were in reality but servants) were priests to those who lived under their

⁴ Plutarch in Lycurgo, p. 52.

⁵ Ibid. p. 53.

⁶ Xenoph. lib. de Repub. Lacedæm. p. 688.

⁷ Id. *ibid.*

⁸ Xenoph. Hellenic. l. iii, p. 496.

⁹ Id. *ibid.*

direction ; and offered all sorts of sacrifices for them, and performed all the ministrations of religion at their domestic altars ; and thus the practice of religious offices was performed in the several parts of every kingdom amongst the several families that inhabited it. The public or national religion appeared at the head of their armies, or at the court only, where the king was personally present, and performed the offices of it for himself and all his people.

There are some persons mentioned by Homer, and called *ιερείς*, or priests, who offered the sacrifices, even when kings and the greatest commanders attended at the altars. Thus Chryses, the priest of Apollo, burnt the sacrifice, which Ulysses and his companions went to offer at Chrysa, when they restored Briseis to her father¹ ; but this is so far from contradicting what I have mentioned, that it entirely coincides with and confirms it. Chrysa was a little isle in the Egean sea, of which Chryses was priest and governor ; and when Ulysses was come into his dominions, it was Chryses' place to offer the sacrifice, and not Ulysses's. There were in ancient times many little islands, and small tracts of land, where civil government was not set up in form ; but the inhabitants lived together in peace and quiet, by and under the direction of some very eminent person, who ruled them by wise admonitions, and by teaching them religion ; and the

¹ Homer Il. i.

governors of these countries affected rather the name of priests than kings. Thus Jethro is called by Moses not the king, but the priest of Midian; and thus Chryses is called the priest of Apollo, at Chrysa, and not the king of Chrysa; though both he and Jethro were the governors of the countries where they lived. If at any time they and their people came to form a political society, upon more express terms and conditions, then we find these sort of persons called both priests and kings; and in this manner Melchisedec was king of Salem, and priest of the most high God², and Anius was king of Delos, and priest of Apollo³. These small states could have but little power to support themselves against the incroachment of their neighbours. Their religion was their greatest strength; and it was their happiest circumstance, that their kings or governors were conspicuous for their religion, and thought sacred by their neighbours, being reputed in an eminent sense to be high in the favour of the god, whom they particularly worshipped; so as to render it dangerous for any to violate their rights, or to injure the people under their protection, as the Grecians are said to have experienced, when they refused to restore Briseis to her father.

It is thought by some very judicious writers, that the word *ιερευς* is sometimes used for a person, who was not, strictly speaking, a priest, but a di-

* Gen. xiv, 18.

³ Virgil. *Æn.* iii, ver. 80.

viner from the entrails of victims. Thus Achilles in Homer⁴, when the pestilence raged in the Grecian camp, advised

.....τινα μαντιν ερχειομεν η ιερηα
'Η και ονειροπολον'

to send for either a *μαντις*, or prophet, or an *ιερευς*, or an *ονειροπολος*, a diviner by dreams, to inform them how to appease Apollo. But I imagine that the *ιερευς* here mentioned, was some one of these insular priests or kings, of whom all their neighbours had a high opinion, for their great skill in matters of religion; upon which account they used to be frequently sent to, or sent for, as the occasion of their neighbour-states required the assistance of their advice and direction. Such a king and priest was Rhamnes in Virgil⁵,

Rex idem, et regi Turno gratissimus augur.

Amongst the true worshippers of God, some persons were very signally distinguished from others by extraordinary revelations of God's will made to them. Abraham was received by Abimelech as a prophet⁶; and God was pleased to make his will known to these persons by visions or by dreams⁷, and sometimes by audible voices and divine appearances. And when any persons were known to be thus highly favoured of God, kings and great men

⁴ Homer Il. i.

⁶ Gen. xx, 7.

⁵ Æn. ix, ver. 327.

⁷ Numb. xii, 6.

paid regard to them, and were willing to consult them upon difficulties and emergent occasions, and were glad to have them, not to sacrifice for them, which there was no occasion they should do, but to pray for them, for their prayers were thought more than ordinarily available with GOD⁸; and this order of men, namely, the prophets, are frequently mentioned in Scripture. Now as GOD was pleased to distinguish his true servants by the gifts of prophecy, so in all the heathen nations divers persons imitated these powers, and made it their business in various manners by art and study to qualify themselves to know the will of their gods, and to discover it to men. Persons thought to be thus qualified were in every kingdom retained by kings and rulers; or, if they had them not at hand, they sent for them upon occasion, to direct in emergent affairs and difficult circumstances. Balaam the son of Beor had the character of a prophet in the nations round about the place where he lived, and therefore Balak, in his distress about the Israelites, sent for him *to Pethor, which is by the river of the land of the children of his people*⁹; and when Balaam was come to Balak, Balak was ordinarily the sacrificer; and Balaam's employment was to report to him any revelation which GOD should please to make him about the Israelites¹. Thus when the chiefs of Greece offered their sacrifices, Calchas attended, and explained an omen,

⁸ Gen. xx, 7.⁹ Numb. xxii, 5.¹ Ibid. xxiii, 30.

which put them in great surprise². In length of time, the number of the heathen prophets increased greatly: there were many of them in Egypt in the days of Moses, and of several orders³; and there were four orders of them at Babylon in the time of Daniel, namely, the Chartummim or magicians, the Ashapim or astrologers, the Chasdim or Chaldeans, and the Mechasepim or sorcerers⁴. But they were not numerous in Greece until after the times which I am to treat of; for when Agesilaus was made king of Sparta, about A. M. 3600, which is above three hundred years after the building of Rome, and near as much later than the time where I am to end this undertaking, when Agesilaus was to offer the sacrifices for the city, he had only one *μαντις* or prophet attending to inform him of what might be revealed to him at the time of his sacrifices, as Agamemnon in Homer is described to have had at the Trojan war. There was another sort of officers attending upon the sacrifices, called the *κηρυκες*, or in Latin *præcones*, whose business was to call together the people, when assemblies were appointed, and they were frequently sent ambassadors, or rather as heralds from state to state; and they assisted at sacrifices in dividing the victims, and disposing the several parts of the offering in due form upon the altar⁵ before the priests kindled the fire to burn it. But I cannot find any reason to think that the Greeks had, at the time

² Il. ii.³ Exod. vii, 11.⁴ Dan. ii, 2.⁵ Homer. Il. in loc. var.

when Rome was built, so many persons set apart to attend upon the religious offices as even Romulus appointed at the first building of his city.

If we go into Asia : as men were planted there, and cities built, and governments established earlier than in Greece, so we find, as I just now hinted, that the wise men of Babylon were numerous in the days of Daniel. When they began there I cannot say ; but I am apt to think their first rise was from Belus the Egyptian, the son of Neptune and Libya, who travelled from Egypt, and carried with him a number of the Egyptian priests, and obtained leave to sit down at Babylon, where the king, who then ruled there, gave them great encouragement upon account of their skill in astronomy. Of this Belus I shall speak more hereafter. His coming to Babylon was about the time of Moses⁶ ; but I would observe, that the kings of these nations had not parted with their priesthood in the days of Cyrus ; for Xenophon is very express in his accounts of that prince's performing the public sacrifices, in many places⁷.

Egypt was the parent of almost all the superstitions which overflowed the world ; and it is particularly remarked, that the priests in the most ancient times were more numerous here, and far more magnificently provided for than in other nations. They had lands settled upon them in the time of Joseph⁸ ; and, according to Diodorus Siculus, a

⁶ See book viii.

⁷ Lib. de Cyropæd. lib. ii, iii, viii, &c.

⁸ Gen. xlvii.

third part of the whole land of Egypt was theirs². Lord Shaftesbury's triumphs here run very high against the church lands, and the landed clergy, as he is pleased to call the Egyptian priests of these times. This right honourable writer asserts, "that the magistrate, according to the Egyptian regulation, had resigned his title or share of right in sacred things, and could not govern as he pleased, nor check the growing number of these professors¹. And that in this mother land of superstition the sons of these artists were by law obliged always to follow the same calling with their fathers. Thus the son of a priest was always a priest by birth; as was the whole lineage after him without interruption." Many other particulars are enlarged upon by this author, which I choose to pass over. If I give an account of the Egyptian priesthood, from what the ancient writers hint about it, this alone will show how widely some writers err in their account of ancient facts, out of humour, and inclination to reflect upon the clergy and the church. Religion was in the early times looked upon by all the nations in the world as a positive institution of GOD; and it was as firmly believed, that none could be the ministers in it but those persons whom GOD himself had appointed to perform the offices of it. Aristotle, indeed, who threw off tradition, and founded his opinions upon what he thought to be the dictates of right reason, seems

² Diodor. Sic. lib. i. sec. 72, 73, &c.

¹ Miscellaneous Reflect. Characteristics, vol. iii; Mis. ii, p. 42.

to give every state or community a power of appointing their ministers of religion; hinting, at the same time, that the citizens of an advanced age, who were past engaging in laborious employments for the service of the public, were the proper persons to be appointed to the sacred offices². But Plato, who had a greater regard to the ancient customs and traditions, makes a divine designation absolutely necessary for the rightly authorising any person to perform the offices of religion. He advises the founders of cities, if they could find any priests, who had received their office from their fathers, in a long succession backward, to make use of them; but if such could not be had, and some must be created, that they would leave the choice to the gods, appointing proper candidates, and choosing out of them by lot such as the deity should cause the lot to fall upon; and that they should send to the oracle at Delphos to be directed what rites, ceremonies, and laws of religion they should establish³. This was the ancient universal sense of all nations; and we may observe, that both Romulus and Numa took care at least to seem to act according to these maxims. Romulus built his city by consultation with the Etruscan *haruspices*⁴; and upon his appointing new orders of priests, he made a law to devolve the confirming them to the *vates*, or augurs, who were to declare to the people

² Aristot. de Repub. lib. vii, cap. 9.

³ Platon. de Legibus, lib. vi, p. 860.

⁴ Plutarch. in Vita Romuli.

the will of the gods about them⁵. And Numa was thought to do nothing but by inspiration, pretending the directions of the goddess Egeria for all his institutions⁶. The most ancient priesthood was that which fathers or heads of families exercised in and for their own families and kindred; and the divine institution of this was what all nations were so fully convinced of, that the public and established religions did not supersede it, but left it as they found it. So that though private persons, who were not publicly called to that office, might not offer sacrifices on the public altars, yet each head of a family was priest for his own family at his private focus, or domestic altar; and these private or family priests, I imagine, were the persons whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of, as having *τας συγγενικας ιερωσυνας*, or a priesthood over those of the same lineage with themselves⁷. And what reverence and regard was paid them may be guessed by the observation of Athenæus, who remarks, that of all sacrifices those were esteemed the most sacred which a man offered for his own domestics⁸. Indeed they might well be so accounted, the persons who offered them being perhaps the only persons in the heathen nations who had a just right to offer any sacrifices.

⁵ Dionys. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, c. 12.

⁶ Id. ibid. c. 60; Plutarch in Vit. Numæ; Florus, lib. i, c. 2.

⁷ Dionys. Antiq. Rom. lib. ii, cap. 21.

⁸ Ὅσιωτατη γὰρ ἡ θυσία θεοῖς καὶ προσφιλεστέρα ἡ διὰ τῶν οἰκειῶν. Athenæus Deipnosoph. lib. i, cap. 8.

As this sense of things appears not to have been extinguished even in the time of Romulus, nay, even ages after him, so it is most probable that men kept very strict to it in the first times. We must not suppose, that, at the first erecting kingdoms and civil societies, the several bodies of men appointed whom they would to be their priests. It is more likely, that they thought, as Plato the great master of the ancient customs and traditions of all nations did, that the priesthood which had descended from father to son was still to be retained⁹. Accordingly, where kingdoms were originally planted by but one single family, the king or head of that one family might be the sole public minister of religion for all his people ; but where the kingdoms were originally peopled by many families independent of each other, they might agree to institute, that the persons who in private life had been priests of the several families of which the body politic was constituted, should become jointly national priests for all the land. Thus the Egyptian priests might be originally the heads of the several families which constituted the kingdom. That this conjecture does not err much, if any thing, from the truth, will appear to any one who considers duly the ancient Egyptian polity. For, 1, They thought their priests almost equal in dignity to their kings ; and the priest had a great share in the administration of affairs ; for

⁹ Ἱερῶν δὲ ἱερέας οἷς μὲν εἰσι πατρίδι ἱερῶσιναι μὴ κινεῖν.
Plat. de Legibus, lib. vi, p. 860.

they continually attended to advise, direct, and assist in the weighty affairs of the kingdom¹.

2. They thought it an irregularity to have any one made their king who was not one of their priests; but if it did so happen, as in length of time it sometimes did, the person who was to² be king was obliged to be first received into the order of priests, and then was capable of the crown.

3. Whenever a priest died, his son was made priest in his room³. I am sensible, that the very particulars I have produced are frequently made use of to hint the great ascendancy which priest-craft and religion gained over king and people in the land of Egypt; but no one truly versed in antiquity can use them to this purpose. It was not the priesthood, which by religious craft raised the possessors of it in ancient times to the highest stations and dignity, but rather, none but persons of the highest stations and dignity were thought capable of being priests; and of consequence the men of this order could not but shine with double lustre: they were as great as the civil state could make them before they entered upon religious ministrations, for it was reckoned a monstrous thing to make priests of the meanest of the people⁴.

¹ Καθολου γαρ περι των μεγαλων ετοι προβουλευομενοι συνδια-
τρισουσι τω βασιλει, των μεν συνεργοι, των δε εισηγηται και δι-
δασκαλοι γινομενοι. Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 73, p. 66.

² Plato in Politico, p. 550; Plutarch, lib. de Iside et Osiride,
p. 354.

³ Herodot, lib. ii, c. 37.

⁴ 1 Kings xiii, 33.

Accordingly, Romulus appointed the noblest and the wealthiest of the senators for these offices⁵; and Josephus was sensible, that this was the universal practice of all heathen nations, and therefore remarks how equitably the Jewish priesthood was at first founded, that great wealth and possessions were not the requisites to qualify the persons, who were put into it, for their admission into the sacred order⁶, which he must know was required in all heathen nations, or his argument had been of little force. Divine appointment placed the priesthood at first in the head of every family, and men did not for many ages take upon them to make alterations in this matter. When Mizraim and his followers sat down in Egypt, he was the priest and governor of his own family; and the leading men who followed him were, by the same right, each head of a family, priest and governor of those who belonged to him. Now what coalition could be more easy, or what civil government or religious hierarchy better grounded, unless they had had a special direction for their polity from Heaven, as the Israelites afterwards had, than for Mizraim and his followers to agree, that one of them should have the presidency or superiority, and that they should all unite to promote religion, order, and government amongst their children and their descendants? This was the first polity in Egypt, which, if duly considered, will give a clear account of what I have ob-

⁵ Diónys. Halicarnass. lib. ii, c. 18.

⁶ Josephus contra Apion, lib. ii, sec. 21, 22, p. 1379.

served concerning the honour paid to the Egyptian priests. 1. Their priests were thought almost equal in dignity to their kings; and were joined with them in the public counsels and administrations. And surely it cannot be thought a great usurpation for them to claim this honour, since they were, every one, heads of families like the king himself, and subordinate to him alone, for the purposes of civil life. 2. The kings were commonly chosen out of the priests; or if any other person became king, he was obliged to be admitted into the priest's order before he received the crown. This appointment was not improper, if we consider, that, according to this constitution of the Egyptian government, all but the priests were by nature subject to some or other of the priests, for they alone were the persons who could have a paternal right to govern; and every other order of men in Egypt owed to them a filial duty and obedience. 3. Whenever a priest died, his son was appointed priest in his room; Herodotus says, *επειαν δε τις αποθανη, τετε ο παις ανικατισαται*⁷, not, as Lord Shaftesbury represents it, that all the children of the priests were obliged by law to follow the calling of their fathers: but the *ο παις*, not *παιδες*, not the sons, but the eldest son, was appointed priest in his room. Therefore they only endeavoured to preserve that order, which God himself originally appointed; and their priesthood could

⁷ Herodot. lib. ii, cap. 37.

not hereby become more numerous, than the original families which first planted the land. It is remarkable, that the service of the altar would naturally have descended much in this manner amongst the Israelites, if God had not thought fit, by a new institution, to have the whole tribe of Levi set apart for the ministry, instead of the first-born of their several families. The Egyptian priesthood, thus considered, will not appear so extravagant as some writers have imagined; nor will the division of the land, supposing that even a third part of it was the priests, be liable to so much censure and odium as these authors delight to throw upon it; for the persons, who as priests seem to have had too much, were in truth the whole body of the nobility of the land, and the Egyptian polity was really this and no other: the king had a third part of the land for his share as king, to enable him to defray his public expenses without tax or burthen to his subjects: the nobility, or heads of the several families, had a third part, who were to furnish all the expenses for religion, and to perform all the offices of it, without any charge to the people: the common subjects had the remaining third part, not encumbered with either any tax to the king or expense upon account of religion. Now I imagine, that the commons, or plebeians, have in few kingdoms had a larger property in land than this.

The Asiatic priesthoods are in general said to have had a very exorbitant power over the state.

I wish the authors of this opinion were particular in pointing out the times and places when and where. I cannot apprehend, that the religious orders had such overbearing influence or interest at Babylon in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, when he threatened to cut them all in pieces, and to make their houses a dunghill⁸, and gave orders to destroy them all, because they did not answer him in a point, in which it was impossible they could answer him⁹; for as Daniel observed, *the secret was not revealed to him for any wisdom, that he had more than any living*¹; and he remarked, that the wise men of Babylon could not possibly discover it². A fair and just representation of the ancient heathen religion, would show that it was not priestcraft which ruled the heathen world, but that kings and great men, having had originally in their hands the offices of religion, turned the whole into state policy, and made it a mere art whereby to govern their kingdoms, and to carry forward their designs. These were Plutarch's thoughts upon this subject, when he imagined that all the arts of divination from dreams, prodigies, omens, &c. were of service, not to the religious orders, but to statesmen, in order to their³ manag-

⁸ Dan. ii, 5.

⁹ Ver. 10, 11, 27, 28, 30.

¹ Ver. 30.

² Ver. 27.

³ Ονειρατα και φασματα, και τοιςτον αλλον ονκον — ο πολιτικοις μεν ανδρασι, και προς αυθαδη και ακολασον οχλον ηναλκασμενοις ζην, εκ αχρησων ισως εσιν, ωσπερ εκ χαλινω της δεισιδαιμονιας προς το συμφερον αντισπασαι και μετασησαι τας πολλας. Plutarch. lib. de Genio Socratis, p. 580.

ing the populace, as the public affairs should require. Now to this use kings and rulers did in these times put all their power and presidency in the offices of religion, until they had vitiated and corrupted every part and branch of it. It is indeed true, that God in the first ages made so many revelations of his will to particular persons, as might, one would think, have checked the career of idolatry and superstition; but we do not find, that the rulers of nations were often willing to allow an order of prophets in their kingdom to be employed purely to find out and publish to them the will of Heaven, any farther than their political views might be served by it. When Balak the son of Zippor sent for Balaam, the employment he had for him was to curse the Israelites, in order to put life and courage into his people, whose spirits were sunk by the conquests which Israel had obtained over the Amorites⁴; and we see in him an early instance what an estimate the heathen kings had formed of prophets and their inspiration. When Balak thought that Balaam might have been won to serve his purpose, he complimented him, with pretending to believe, that *He, whom he blessed, was blessed, and he, whom he cursed, was cursed*⁵. But when Balaam did not answer his expectation, he paid no regard to him, but dismissed him in anger; *Therefore now flee thou to thy place: I thought to promote thee to great honour, but lo,*

⁴ Numb. xxii, 3, 4, 5.

⁵ Ver. 6,

*the LORD hath kept thee back from honour*⁶. Thus their priests or prophets were promoted to very great honours, if they could serve political views and designs; but if they really *would not go beyond the commandment of the LORD to do either good or bad of their own mind, but what the LORD said, that they would speak*⁷, then they were neglected, and anti-prophets, magicians, Chaldeans, or other artificers, were opposed to them, to take off all impressions which they might make upon the people, contrary to the public views and interest. Thus the magicians of Egypt were employed against Moses, when Pharaoh was not willing to part with so great a number of slaves as the Israelites. And by these means, religion and the offices of it were much perverted, before the time that GOD thought fit to make a change in the priesthood, and to have a particular order of men set apart for the service of the altar⁸. In the later ages, the heathen nations copied after this pattern; for temples were built, and orders of priests appointed for the service in them in every country; and the annual revenues settled, together with the numerous presents of votaries, raised immense wealth to the religious orders. But I do not apprehend, that the affairs of kingdoms were made subject to their arbitrament and disposal; or that kings and statesmen in the later times of the heathen superstition paid more deference or regard to

⁶ Numb. xxiv, ver. 10, 11.

⁷ Ver. 13.

⁸ Exodus xxviii; Numbers ii.

them than what they thought was requisite for the public good.

It has indeed been thought in all ages to be both the duty and interest of magistrates to establish the worship of a deity amongst their people. It is certainly their duty to do it as men, who are bound to promote the glory of God; and there is more sound of words than force of argument in the pretence of some writers, that the magistrate, as magistrate, has nothing to do in this matter; for if it be undeniably certain, that every man is obliged to promote the glory of God, it will follow, that the magistrate is not exempted; but moves in a station of greater influence, and has therefore ability to perform this in a more effectual manner, which is a duty universally incumbent upon all men. If these writers would gain their point, they must prove, that the being a magistrate cancels that duty, which the magistrate, as a man, owes to God, which is a part of his reasonable service to the Deity, and which he is indispensably obliged to perform in the best manner he can; only taking due care, that a zeal for his duty does not lead him into unjust or wicked measures about it. But it is the interest of the magistrate to establish religion; for it is the surest way to obtain the protection of God's Providence⁹, without which no

* 1 Sam. ii, 30. Ταυτα τε δη τα ανδρος αγαμαι, και επι προς τατοις α μελλω λεγειν, οτι τε καλως οικεισθαι τας πολεις αιτιας υπολαβων, ας θρυλλεσι μεν απαντες οι πολιτικοι, κατασκευαζεσι δ' ολιγοι πρωτην μεν πασα των θεων ευκοιαν, ης πα-

wise and prudent writer ever reputed the public affairs of kingdoms to be in a safe and flourishing condition. And it is the only, or by far the best way to cultivate those moral principles of duty amongst a people, without which no community can be either happy or secure¹. Thus Tully thought upon this subject, concluding the happiness of a community to be founded upon religion, and very judiciously querying whether, *pietate adversus deos sublata*, if a general neglect of religion were introduced, a looseness of principle, destructive of all society, would not quickly follow; an evil, which if the magistrate does not prevent, he can do nothing very effectual to the public welfare. Of this all the heathen magistrates have ever been apprised; and therefore never were so wild as to attempt to discharge themselves from the care of it. Their only fault was, that their care of it was

θεσης παντα τοις Ανθρωποις επι τα κρειττω συμφερεται. Dionys. Halicarn. Antiquit. Rom. l. ii, c. 18. — Diis deabusque immortalibus, quorum ope et auxilio, multo magis hæc respublica, quam ratione hominum et consilio gubernatur. Cicero Orat. pro. C. Rabirio. Etenim quis est tam vecors, qui — cum deos esse intellexerit, non intelligat eorum Numine hoc tantum imperium esse natum et auctum, et retentum? Quam volumus licet, P. C. ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis ac terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos, sed pietate ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus. Cicero Orat. de Haruspicum Responsis.

¹ Cic. de Nat. Deorum, lib. i, c. 2, et in al. loc. innum,

too political. When they themselves were the ministers of religion, they set up their fancies instead of religion, as their speculations led them, or their interests directed; and afterwards, when they appointed other persons to the ministrations, they so managed as to have them at their direction for the same purposes; as will appear to any one, who will fairly examine this subject.

There should be something said, before I close this book, about the right which female heirs may be supposed to be thought by these ancients to have to crowns and kingdoms. Semiramis was the first queen we read of in any nation, and Justin supposes that she obtained the crown by deceit upon her people, by her being mistaken for her son Ninyas²; but Diodorus gives a much better and more probable account of her advancement, who says, that Ninus appointed her to be queen at his death³. It is indeed true, that the original constitution of some kingdoms, if they were founded upon the maxims, which I have supposed, do not seem to admit of any female governors. Thus in Egypt they did not think of having queens, at the forming their first settlement, for which reason, in order to make a way for them, there was a law made when Binothris was king of *This*⁴, i. e. about A. M. 2232, that they should not be excluded. In nations, where civil government began from despotic authority, queens may be supposed to have

² Justin. lib. i, c. 2.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. ii, sec. 7.

⁴ Syncellus, p. 54.

succeeded naturally upon defect of male heirs ; but they have been commonly excluded in elective kingdoms. Two things are remarkable : 1. That in ancient times, whenever queens reigned, they presided in religion, and were priestesses to their people, as kings were priests ; and thus Dido in Virgil^s made the libation at the entertainment of Æneas and his companions, as the kings of Greece in Homer did upon like occasions. 2. Divine Providence has generally distinguished the reigns of queens with uncommon glory to themselves, and happiness to their people, of which both our own, and the history of other nations afford almost as many instances as there have been queens upon their thrones.

^s Æneid. i, ver. 740.

THE
SACRED AND PROFANE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
CONNECTED.

BOOK VII.

ISAAC, after Abraham was buried, continued to live where his father left him. Rebekah for some years had no children ; but about twenty years after her marriage with Isaac, A. M. 2168, she had two sons, Esau and Jacob¹. The two children grew up to be men : were of a very different genius and temper ; Jacob was very studious and much versed in religious contemplation ; Esau had but little thought or care about them. Jacob, upon seeing Esau, in some absence of his father, officiate at the sacrifice, was very desirous to obtain this employment himself, which he thought so honourable.

¹ Gen. xxv, 24. Isaac was forty years old when he married, and he was sixty when Jacob and Esau were born, ver. 26.

Esau on the other hand had no value at all for it; so they bargained together, and for a small refreshment Esau sold Jacob all his right and title to it². Esau is for this action called the profane Esau³; because he despised his birth-right, by parting with it for a trifling consideration. Some writers suppose, that the birth-right, which Esau here sold, was his right to be the heir of his father's substance. If this were true, and he had only sold that, he might indeed be called a foolish and inconsiderate person to make so unwise a bargain; but why profane? It is evident, that this could not be the fact; for when Isaac died, and Esau came from mount Seir, where he lived⁴, to join with Jacob in assisting at his father's funeral, at his going away from his brother, he carried with him not only his wives, his sons, his daughters, his cattle, and all his beasts; but besides these, all *his substance which he had got in the land of Canaan*⁵. Esau had no substance in the land of Canaan of his own getting; for he lived at Seir in the land of Edom, beyond the borders of Canaan; the substance therefore which was gotten in the land of Canaan, must be the substance of which Isaac died possessed, and which as heir Esau took along with him. Therefore after his birth-right was sold, he was still heir to his father's substance, and as heir had it delivered to him, so that his right to this was not what Jacob had bought of

² Gen. xxv, 33.³ Heb. xii, 16.⁴ Gen. xxxii, 3.⁵ Gen. xxxvi, 6.

him. Others think that the birth-right was the blessing promised to the seed of Abraham; and the words of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews seem very much to favour this opinion⁶. *Lest there be any fornicator or profane person as Esau, who for one morsel of meat sold his birth-right; for ye know how that afterwards, when he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears.* In these words, not inheriting the blessing seems to be connected with his having sold his birth-right; as if having parted with the one, he could not possibly obtain the other. But I am in great doubt, whether this be the true meaning of these words. Esau himself, when he had sold his birth-right, did not imagine that he had sold his right to the blessing with it; for when his father told him, that his brother had come with subtlety and taken away his blessing⁷, Esau answered, *Is he not rightly named Jacob? for he hath supplanted me these two times; he took away my birth-right, and behold now he hath taken away my blessing.* If Esau had apprehended that the blessing and the birth-right had been inseparable, having sold the one, he would not have expected or pretended to the other; but he makes the getting from him the blessing a second hardship put upon him, distinct from, and independant of the former. St. Paul, I think, represents the

⁶ Heb. xii, 16, 17.

⁷ Gen. xxvii, 35, 36.

case of Esau in the loss of the blessing in the same manner⁸; he does not suppose it owing to any thing that Esau had done⁹, but represents it as a design of GOD, determined before Jacob and Esau were born¹; and a design determined purely by the good will and pleasure of GOD, without any view to, or regard of any thing which Jacob or Esau should do². GOD made the promise at first to Abraham, not to Lot; and afterwards determined, that Abraham's seed should be called in Isaac, not in Ishmael; and in the next generation in Jacob, not in Esau; and afterwards he divided the blessing among the sons of Jacob. The Messiah was to be born of Judah, and each of them in their posterity had a share of the land of Canaan. The author of the book of the Ecclesiastics sets this matter in the clearest light, by distinguishing the blessing into two parts. He calls one the *blessing of all men*, alluding to the promise made to Abraham, *that in his seed all the nations of the Earth should be blessed*; the other he calls the covenant made with him about the land of Canaan; and both these parts of the blessing were given to Isaac, for Abraham's sake. *With Isaac did he establish likewise, for Abraham his father's sake, the blessing of all men, and the covenant³, and he made it rest upon the head of Jacob*. He gave the whole blessing entire to Jacob also, but afterwards *among the twelve tribes did he part*

⁸ Rom. ix.⁹ Ver. 11.¹ Ibid.² Ibid.³ Ecclesiasticus xlv, 22, 23.

*them*⁴. When the blessing came to descend to Jacob's children, it did not go entire according to birth-right, nor to any one person, who had deserved it better than all the rest; but as GOD at first made the promise and covenant to Abraham, not to Lot, and gave the title to it afterwards to Isaac, not to Ishmael, then to Jacob, not to Esau; so in the next generation, he conveyed it entire to no one single person, but divided it, and gave the blessing of all men to Judah, who was Jacob's fourth son, and parted the covenant about Canaan amongst all of them, giving two parts to Joseph in his two sons Ephraim and Manasseh.

There is a passage in the book of Chronicles, which may seem to contradict this account I am endeavouring to give of Jacob's or Esau's birth-right. *The sons of Reuben the first-born of Israel, for he was, says the historian, the first-born, but forasmuch as he defiled his father's bed, his birth-right was given unto the sons of Joseph, and the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birth-right; for Judah prevailed above his brethren, and of him came the chief ruler, but the birth-right was Joseph's*⁵. In this passage the inspired writer may be thought to hint, that there was a birth-right to

⁴ The words are, διεσείλε μερίδας αὐτῆς, ἐν φυλαῖς ἐμερίσεν δεκάδυο. *i. e.* He separated the parts of it (*i. e.* of the blessing). He parted them among the twelve tribes. Abraham is represented in Gen. xii, to have received only a promise of the blessing of all men; but GOD is said to make a covenant with him to give him Canaan, Gen. xv, 18.

⁵ 1 Chron. v. 1, 2.

be observed in the division of Canaan; and that when GOD ordered the blessing to be parted he had a respect to such birth-right in the division of it, though he did not think fit to give it to a person, who by his demerits had forfeited it; and it may be asked, if Jacob's children had a birth-right in this matter, why should we suppose that Isaac's had not? To this I answer: the passage I have mentioned does not in the least refer to any birth-right, which was esteemed to be such in the days of Jacob and Esau. 1. For if the inheritance of the father's estate was at that time part of the birth-right, yet it is evident, that it was not so in the proportion here mentioned. For not only a double portion particularly belonged to the eldest son in these times, but the whole. *Thus Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac; but unto the children whom he had by Keturah, his second wife, he gave gifts and sent them away eastward, while he yet lived, from Isaac his son.* If therefore the inheritance of Canaan had been given according to the birth-right in these days, one of Jacob's sons should have had the whole, and all the rest have been sent to live in some other country. 2. The right of the first-born was settled upon another footing by the law of Moses. The priesthood was separated from it, and settled upon the tribe of Levi, and a double portion of the father's estate and substance declared to belong to⁶ the first-born.

⁶ Exod. xxviii; Numb. iii, 6—12; Deut. xxi, 17.

3. Esau, when he sold his birth-right, did not sell his right of inheritance at his father's death.

4. Jacob had prophesied⁷ that Joseph should have one portion of the land of Canaan above his brethren; but does not anywhere hint that any one of his sons should have a birth-right to any one part of it more than the rest. And we may say, that as the whole blessing was made to rest upon the head of Jacob, without Esau's having any part of it; so it might likewise have descended to any one of Jacob's sons, and it could have descended only to one of them, if it had been a birth-right, and had not by the good will and pleasure of GOD been designed to be parted among the twelve tribes, to every one such a portion of it as GOD was pleased to appoint, and that part of it which contained *the blessing of all men to Judah* only. For these reasons I conclude, 5. That the author of the book of Chronicles, writing after the law of Moses had altered the priesthood, and appointed two portions of the inheritance to the eldest son, remarks, that Joseph had the birth-right given to him, meaning to refer to what was then called the birth-right; but not to what was the birth-right, in Jacob and Esau's days, which was long prior to, and very different from, this establishment.

The Jews, at the time when the apostles preached the Gospel, seem to have been of opinion, that the whole body of their nation had a birth-right and

⁷ Gen. xlviii, 22,

unalienable title to the blessings of the Messiah. This was *the hope of the promise made by God unto their fathers, unto which promise their twelve tribes instantly serving God day and night hoped to come*⁸. After the blessing, which had been made to rest upon the head of Jacob, had been parted among the twelve tribes, they apprehended that this was to be the last distribution of it, and that the whole Jewish nation, or twelve tribes jointly as a people, were to enjoy the blessing for ever. But St. Paul endeavours in several places to correct this mistake; and argues very clearly, that the blessing was never appointed to descend according to birth-right or inheritance; for that not the *children of the flesh, but the children of the promise are to be counted for the seed of Abraham*, who have a title to it, *i. e.* not those, who by natural descent may seem to have a right, but those to whom God, by special design and promise, had directed it.⁹ This he proves by instance from Jacob and Esau, that, when Rebekah had conceived them, *before the children were born, or had done good or evil*, that it might not be said to be owing to any thing they had done, but to the mere determination of God's good will and pleasure, it was said unto her, *that the elder should serve the younger*¹. Thus Esau was the son, who by descent might seem to have the right, but Jacob had it by promise. In the same manner, when CHRIST, the

⁸ Acts xxvi, 7.⁹ Rom. ix, 8.¹ Ibid. ix, 12.

promised seed of Abraham, was come, the twelve tribes thought themselves heirs of the blessings to be received from him; but in this they erred, not rightly understanding the promise. He was to be the *blessing of all men*, or according to the words of the promise, in him *all the families of the earth*² or *all the nations of the earth* were to be blessed³. And in order to this, GOD had determined *to call them his people which were not his people, and her beloved which was not beloved*⁴; and to receive the Gentiles into the blessings of the promise. Nor could the Jews justly say, because the greatest part of their nation was rejected, that therefore the promise to Abraham was broken, or had *taken none effect*. *For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel, neither because they are the seed of Abraham are they all children*⁵. But as Esau received not the blessing, though he was the son of Isaac, so the Jews who fell short through unbelief were rejected, and yet the promise was made good to the sons of Abraham, because a remnant was received⁶, and some of them with the Gentiles made partakers of it. GOD had not promised that all Abraham's sons should be his children; but only such of them as he should think fit to choose. I think, if the whole of what I have offered be duly considered, it will appear that the blessing never was annexed to the birth-right at all; nor did it ever descend as the birth-right did, but was al-

² Gen. xii, 3; xviii, 18.³ Ibid. xxii, 18; xxvi, 4.⁴ Rom. ix, 25.⁵ Ver. 6, 7.⁶ Ver. 27.

ways disposed of, either in the whole or in part, just as it pleased God to think fit, according to his own good-will and pleasure. Esau by being eldest son had the birth-right, but he never had any title to the blessing, for before he was born, God was pleased to declare that it should belong to Jacob⁷; therefore Esau, in selling his birth-right, does not seem to have parted with any right to the blessing, for they were two different and distinct things. Esau's birth-right therefore must be his right of being priests or sacrificer for his brethren, and he is justly termed profane for selling it, because he hereby showed that he had not a due value and esteem for a religious employment, which belonged to him.

There was a famine about this time in the land of Canaan, where Isaac sojourned, on account of which he removed as his father had done, and went into the land of the Philistines, and lived at Gerar⁸. Here he denied his wife, pretending she was his sister, as Abraham did formerly; but the king of the country accidentally seeing some familiarities pass between them, sharply reproved him; apprised his subjects that she was his wife, and declared that he would punish any man with death, who should offer violence to either of them. Isaac continued for some years in the land of the Philistines, sowing some fields, and reaping prodigious crops from his tillage. He was very prosperous in all

⁷ Gen. xxv, 23; Rom. ix, 11, 12.

⁸ Gen xxvi, 16.

his undertakings, and increased his stock and grew very great, until the Philistines envied him, and applied to the king to have him banished their land. Abimelech hereupon ordered Isaac to go from them; for, said he, *thou art much mightier than we*⁹. Abimelech could not mean by these words, that Isaac was really more potent than the whole Philistine people; for we cannot imagine that possible. He might have as large a family, and as numerous an attendance as the king of Philistia himself had, and might therefore, if he had a mind, have been able to disturb his government. But the words of Abimelech above mentioned do not suggest even this to us; for our English translation of this passage is very faulty, the Hebrew words are, *cignatzampta mimmenu*, not *because thou art mightier than we*, but *because thou art increased or multiplied from or by us*, thou hast got a great deal from us, or by us, and we do not care to let thee get any more. The case was, not that the Philistines feared him, but they envied him¹; they grudged that he should get so much amongst them, and were therefore desirous to check him. Abimelech ordered Isaac to leave Gerar; upon which he departed, and pitched his tent in the valley of Gerar, and dwelt there². After Isaac was removed from Gerar, the Philistines thought him too well accommodated whilst he lived in the valley, and their envy and malice still pur-

⁹ Gen. xxvi, ver 16.¹ Ver. 14.² Ver. 17.

sued him. The herdsmen of Gerar quarrelled with Isaac's herdsmen, took away their wells, and put them to many inconveniences; so that Isaac, quite tired with their repeated insults, removed farther from them, and went and lived in the most remote parts of their country towards Egypt, at Beersheba³; where he hoped to find a place of peace and quiet. He built an altar, and implored the divine favour and protection; and had the comfort to be assured, that he and his should be defended from all future evils. Soon after he was settled here, Abimelech, sensible of the ill usage he had met with from his people, and reflecting upon the extraordinary manner in which God had blessed him, and considering that perhaps in time he might revenge the injuries they had done him, came with his officers, and made an alliance with him⁴. Esau was about forty years old, and had married two Hittite women, very much to the affliction of his parents⁵. The Hittites bordered upon the Philistines near to Gerar, so that Esau most probably married whilst his father sojourned there. Esau was forty years old, A. M. 2208, and therefore about that time Isaac lived at Gerar.

About nineteen years after this died Syphis, the first of that name, a very famous king of Egypt. He was the tenth king of Memphis, after Menes or Mizraim, according to Sir John Marsham's Tables, who supposes him to begin his reign about two

³ Gen. xxvi, 23.

⁴ Ver. 26 — 30.

⁵ Ver. 34, 35.

hundred and twenty-two years after the death of Mizraim, who died, according to what I have formerly offered, A.M. 1943⁶, and therefore Syphis began his reign A.M. 2164. Syphis, according to Sir John Marsham from Manetho, reigned sixty-three years, and therefore died A.M. 2227; and upon this computation I have supposed that Syphis began his reign about eighty years after Abraham's coming into Egypt, and died about forty years after Abraham⁷, for Abraham came into Egypt A.M. 2085 or 2086⁸, and died A.M. 2183⁹. Syphis was the first of the Egyptians who speculated upon religious subjects¹. According to Damascenus in Eusebius, Abraham and the Egyptian priests had many disputes and conferences about religion². It may be asked, what disputes could they have upon this subject, if the Egyptians were not at this time become idolaters, as I apprehend they were not³? To this I answer: the religion of Abraham, as it differed from that of Noah and his descendants in some points, which depended upon special revelations made to Abraham, must lay a foundation for his having conferences and disputes with the professors of religion in all countries into which he travelled. They knew nothing of the promise made to him, *that in his seed all the nations of the Earth should be blessed*; nor were

⁶ Vol. i, book iv.

⁷ Vol. i, book v.

⁸ Vol. i, book v.

⁹ See book vi.

¹ Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 54.

² Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 17.

³ Vol. i, book v.

they apprised, that they ought to worship him whom Abraham worshipped, namely, *the LORD who appeared to him*⁴. Agreeably to this we find an expression in the account we have of the worship of Abraham and his descendants, which we do not meet with anywhere in the worship of Lot, of Job, or of any other person, who had not received those revelations which had been made to Abraham and to his children; *Jikra be Shem Jehovah*, not *called upon the name of the LORD*, as we falsely translate the place⁵, but *invoked*, i. e. GOD, in the name of the LORD, whom he worshipped, and who appeared to him. Now this person I take to be the GOD to whom Jacob prayed⁶, and whom he resolved to worship when he vowed that the LORD should be his GOD; by which expression may be meant, not that the true GOD should be his GOD in opposition to false gods, for that had been no very remarkable resolution, no wise man ever worshipping false gods, who really knows them to be such; but the LORD, who appeared to Abraham, was to be his GOD, in distinction from those who worshipped the true GOD of Heaven without any notion of this LORD at all. In the same manner we find, that this person was worshipped by Isaac; and he is sometimes called the fear of Isaac, and sometimes the GOD of Abraham and GOD of Isaac⁷; and Isaac invoked GOD as

⁴ Gen. xii, 7.

⁵ Ver. 8, as rendered in our English version.

⁶ Gen. xxviii, 21.

⁷ Gen. xxxi, 42, 53, et in al. loc.

Abraham did, in the name of this LORD⁸. The several expressions, denoting the worship which different persons paid the Deity, are very remarkable in the Old Testament. Many persons are said *Kara Jehovah*, to invoke GOD, or *Kara el Jehovah*, to cry unto GOD; or their worship is described in expressions of much the same import; but *Kara be Shem Jehovah*⁹ is never used in a religious sense, but of Abraham and his descendants, who invoked in the name of the true Mediator. This was the difference between their religion and that of the rest of mankind. Other nations, before idolatry was introduced, worshipped the true GOD, but not *be Shem Jehovah*, in the name of the LORD, who had appeared to Abraham. Now this I take to be the point, which Abraham disputed with the Egyptian priests, whether GOD was to be worshipped as they worshipped him, or whether he was to be invoked in the name of Abraham's GOD and LORD. Damascenus remarks¹, that the Egyptians admired Abraham as a very great genius, able to convince and persuade men into his opinions; and we find from Scripture, that the eminence both of Abraham and his descendants made great impressions upon all nations with whom they conversed. The king of Salem acknowledged Abraham to be

⁸ Gen. xxvi, 25.

⁹ The expression *Kara be Shem* is used Gen. iv; but from the persons there spoken of being called by the name of the sons of GOD, Gen. vi, I imagine the words in that place signify *to call by the name*. See vol. i, book i.

¹ Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ix, c. 17.

an eminent servant of the Most High God²; Abimelech was convinced, that God was with him in all he did³; and the same confession was made respecting Isaac in the same country⁴; and Abraham's conversation raised him a great character and reputation in Egypt; for after he was gone from thence, the Egyptians copied after him in the point of circumcision, and introduced human sacrifices, and imitated many rites, which they heard that he practised in his religion; but it does not appear, that he entirely persuaded them to acknowledge his God to be their God. Syphis, a king of the next adjacent country to that in which Abraham had sojourned, in a little time turned their thoughts quite another way. He took up the subjects for which Abraham had been famous, and wrote a book about religion, which carried away his own people and the neighbouring nations into idolatry⁵. And probably he did not oppose the doctrine of Abraham, that God was to be invoked in the name of a mediator, but he set up false mediators instead of the true one: for I conclude from the manner of the worshipping Baal in Elijah's time⁶, that men did not at first wander away from the true God, but they set up lords many, or false mediators, in whose names they worshipped; and in time they went farther, and lost all notion of the true God. Syphis, instead of teaching to

² Gen. xiv, 19.

³ Gen. xxi, 22.

⁴ Gen. xxvi, 28.

⁵ Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 54.

⁶ 1 Kings xviii.

invoke GOD in the name of the LORD, who appeared to Abraham, set up the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, and taught the Egyptians to invoke in their names; so that they had not one GOD and one LORD, which was the ancient true religion, but one GOD and lords many, and in time they had gods many too. Baal was a false lord of this sort, and the worshippers of Baal invoked in his name. Elijah called upon the GOD of Abraham, Isaac, and of Israel⁷, invoking GOD in or by his name⁸. The worshippers of Baal, in opposition to him, invoked in the name of Baal (*Jikreau be Shem ha Baal*); they called or invoked, not *upon the name*, for the words are not to be so translated, but *by or in the name of Baal*. If Syphis was the builder of the largest Egyptian pyramid, which, according to the accounts we have of it, is so large at the bottom as to cover above eleven acres of ground, and five hundred feet high, and Manetho expressly says⁹ that he built it, he must have been a prince of great figure in the age he lived in; and no wonder if his own and the neighbouring nations embraced his religious institutions.

About the time of this Syphis, or rather something later, lived Job the Arabian. The LXX, in their translation, say that he lived in all two hundred and forty, or two hundred and forty-eight years¹. If he really lived so long, we ought to

⁷ 1 Kings xviii, 36.

⁸ Ver. 24 and 32.

⁹ Euseb. Chron. log. πρwt. p. 14.

¹ See cap. ult. lib. Job. Vers. LXX, ver. 16.

suppose him earlier than Syphis; nay, much earlier than Abraham, for the lives of mankind were so much shortened before the days of Abraham, that though he lived but one hundred and seventy-five years², yet he is said to have died in a good old age, an old man and full of years³. Peleg, who was five generations before Abraham, lived two hundred and thirty-nine years⁴. Reu the son of Peleg lived as many⁵. Serug the son of Reu lived two hundred and thirty⁶: but the lives of their descendants were not so long. Nahor, the grandfather of Abraham, lived but one hundred and forty-eight years⁷. Terah, Abraham's father, lived two hundred and five⁸. Abraham lived one hundred and seventy-five, Isaac lived one hundred and eighty⁹, and the lives of their children were shorter. If therefore Job lived two hundred and forty or two hundred and forty-eight years, he must have been contemporary with Peleg, Reu, or Serug, for men's lives were not extended to so great a length after their days. The LXX have some remarkable additions to the book of Job, which are not found in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, or Arabic copies; and this account of the length of Job's life is one of them; but this is in no wise reconcilable with what follows, and is said to have been translated from the Syriac version,

² Gen. xxv, 7.

⁴ Chap. xi, 18, 19.

⁶ Ver. 22, 23.

⁸ Ver. 32.

³ Ver. 8.

⁵ Ver. 20, 21.

⁷ Ver. 24, 25.

⁹ Chap. xxxv, 28.

namely, that Job's original name was Jobab; that his father's name was Zare, of the children of Esau; that he was the fifth in descent from Abraham; that he was the second king of Edom, next after Bela the son of Beor. This account will place Job even later than Moses; for Bela, the first king of Edom, was Moses's contemporary; and if we place him thus late, he could not live two hundred and forty years. Men lived in Moses's time about one hundred and thirty; but this account is not consistent with itself, for if Job was the fifth in descent from Abraham, he must be prior to Moses, Moses being seven descents later than Abraham¹. These additions, which we now find in the last chapter of the LXX version of the book of Job, will therefore so ill bear a strict examination, that I cannot think the translators themselves did at first put them there, but rather that they were the work of some later hand, added by some transcriber, who thought Jobab (mentioned Gen. xxxvi, 33) and Job to be the same person. There are some circumstances in the history of Job, which may lead us to guess pretty well at the time when he lived. 1. He lived above one hundred and eighty years, for he lived one hundred and forty years after his afflictions², and he must be more than forty at the beginning of them; for he had seven sons and three daughters, and all his

¹ Moses was in the third generation from Levi, 1 Chron. vi, 1, 2, 3. Levi was son of Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham.

² Job. xlii, 16.

children seem to have been grown up before the beginning of his misfortunes³; he must therefore have lived to be near two hundred years old. 2. The idolatry practised in the countries where he lived, in his days, was the worship of the host of Heaven⁴. 3. The presents usual in Job's days were earrings of gold, and pieces of money called *Keshitah*⁵. Now from these circumstances it seems most probable, 1. That he could not be much later than the time of Isaac; for if he had, his life would not have been so long as it appears to have been. 2. He must have been something younger than Syphis, for Syphis first⁶ instituted the worship of the host of Heaven in Egypt, which idolatry spread thence into, and began to flourish in Arabia in Job's time. 3. Earrings of gold were in Abraham's days⁷, and they were part of the women's dress in the days of Jacob⁸; but the piece of money called *Keshitah* seems not to have been in use until after Abraham. When Abraham bought the field of Ephron, he paid the price in silver, not by number of pieces but by weight⁹; but when Jacob bought a parcel of a field of the children of Hamor, he paid for it not by weight, but gave a hundred *Keshitahs*¹, or pieces of money for it; so that the *Keshitah*, or piece of money, which Job's friends gave him, was not in use in Abraham's

³ Job i, 2 — 4.

⁵ Chap. xlii, 11.

⁷ Gen. xxiv, 22.

⁹ Chap. xxiii, 16.

⁴ Chap. xxxi, 26, 27.

⁶ See vol. i, book v.

⁸ Chap. xxxv, 4,

¹ Chap. xxxiii, 19,

time, but in Jacob's; therefore Job was not so ancient as Abraham, though the length of his life will not permit us to suppose him altogether so young as Jacob. Job's friends who visited him were Eliphaz *ha-Temani*, perhaps the son of Tema; now Tema was the son of Ishmael²; and Bildad *ha-Shuachi*, i. e. the son of Shuach; now Shuach was the son of Abraham by Keturah³; and Zophar *ha-Naamathi*; and Elihu the son of Barachel *ha-Buzi* conversed with them⁴. Now Buz was the son of Nahor, Abraham's brother⁵; Barachel might be his son or grandson, and Elihu his son be contemporary with Isaac; for Nahor being born when his father Terah was little more than seventy, must have been above fifty years older than Abraham, and agreeably hereto Abraham's son Isaac married Nahor's grand-daughter⁶. Thus all the persons conversant with Job may reasonably be supposed to have lived about Isaac's time, and therefore we need not upon account of their names place Job later. Some learned writers are very positive that Job lived about the time of Moses: Grotius was of this opinion: others place him a generation later than Esau, supposing that Eliphaz the Temanite, who was one of his friends, had been Eliphaz the son of Esau and father of Teman; but I think, that the length of Job's life is an unanswerable objection against supposing him to be

² Gen. xxv, 15.

³ Ver. 2.

⁴ Job xxxii, 2.

⁵ Gen. xxii, 21.

⁶ Chap. xxiv, 24.

thus late. Job lived in the land of Uz⁷, which country, according to the prophet Jeremiah, was adjacent to the land of Edom⁸. The Sabeans robbed Job⁹, and the Sabeans lived at the entrance of Arabia Felix¹. The Chaldeans also formed three bands, and fell upon his camels and carried them away²: the Chaldeans were at first a wandering people, inhabitants of the wilderness, until Ashur built them a city³; then they lived at Ur in Mesopotamia, for they expelled Abraham their land⁴; but it is most probable, that, like the ancient Scythians, they wandered often from their country in bands for the sake of robbing, many generations after their first settlement, this being no unusual practice in the early times; and three companies of them might make an expedition and fall upon Job's cattle; so that we need not suppose that Job lived very near to Ur of the Chaldees, though he was robbed by these men. If we suppose that his land was adjacent to Edom, as Jeremiah hints, he was nigh enough to both Sabeans and Chaldeans to suffer from each of them. Some writers have imagined, that there never was any such person as Job, and that his history is only an instructive fable; but nothing can be more wild than this opinion, which has no colour of argument to support it. The prophet Ezekiel supposes

⁷ Job i, 1.

⁹ Job i, 15.

² Job i, 17.

Judith v, 8.

⁸ Lam. iv, 21.

¹ See vol. i, book iii.

³ Isaiah xxiii, 13.

Job to have been as real a person as either Noah or Daniel⁵; and St. James mentions him as having been a true example of patience⁶. We may at this rate raise doubts about any ancient fact in history.

About the hundredth year of Isaac's life, there happened a very remarkable accident in his family; Isaac and Rebekah seem to have had a very different opinion concerning their two sons Jacob and Esau. Isaac was a very good man; but he did not form a true judgment of his children. He was remarkably fond of Esau more than he was of Jacob⁷: but his affection was but poorly grounded, *he loved Esau because he did eat of his venison, but Rebekah loved Jacob*. And it is remarkable, that before she placed her affection upon either of them, she inquired of God concerning them; and received for answer that the younger should be distinguished by the blessings of Heaven⁸; which she treasured up in her mind, and her opinion of them was according to it. From the time when God made the covenant with Abraham, and promised the extraordinary blessings to his seed, which have been before mentioned, it was requisite for the father of each family, some time before he died, to call his children together, and inform them, according to the knowledge which it pleased God to give him, how and in what manner the blessing of

⁵ Ezek. xiv, 14—16.

⁷ Gen. xxv, 27, 28.

⁶ James v, 11.

⁸ Ver. 23.

Abraham was to descend amongst them. Abraham had no occasion to do this; for GOD having determined and declared that in Isaac his seed should be called⁹, none of Abraham's other children could have any pretence to expect the particular blessings which GOD had promised to the seed of Abraham. Isaac had two sons, either of whom might be designed by GOD to be the heir of the promise; and being now in the decline of life, *for he was old, and his eyes were dim that he could not see*, and not knowing how soon he might be taken from them, he was willing to determine this point, by blessing them before he died¹. If we compare this passage with that where Jacob afterwards called his children together, we may observe a remarkable difference between them. Jacob called his sons, and said, *Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you what shall befall you in the last days*, or rather, as it should be translated, in the times to come, or in the days of your posterity². GOD had given Jacob a prophetic view of his intended dispensations to his descendants and their children, and he called his sons together to relate to them what GOD had thus revealed to him. But Isaac, in the passage before us, seems to have called Esau, without having received any particular revelation about him; nay it is evident he had received none; for he designed to tell him what GOD never

⁹ Gen. xvii, 19, — 21.

¹ Chap. xxvii, 1.

² Chap. xlix, 1.

intended should belong to him. Isaac called Esau, and not Jacob, because he loved him more than he loved Jacob; and he loved him more, because Esau gat him venison; but Jacob's course of life lay another way. Rebekah saw the low springs of her husband's affection to his children, and that he was going to promise the blessing of Abraham, where his affection led him to wish it, and not where, by having made inquiry, she knew that God designed to bestow it. Hereupon she resolved, if possible³, to prevent him; and therefore sent for Jacob, and proposed to him a scheme for his obtaining the blessing which his father designed to give Esau. Jacob was at first in great perplexity about it; was afraid his father should find out the deceit, and instead of blessing him be provoked to curse him for endeavouring to impose upon him. But Rebekah was so well assured, that God designed to bless Jacob, and that her whole crime in this attempt was only an endeavour to deceive Isaac into an action, of which he ought to have duly informed himself, and to have done designedly, that she took the curse wholly upon herself, and persuaded Jacob to come into her measures. One thing is here remarkable, that when the artifice had succeeded, and Jacob was blessed, Isaac let it go, nay he confirmed the blessing; yea (says he) and he shall be blessed. We do not find that he was either displeased with his wife, or angry

³ Gen. xxvii.

with Jacob for imposing upon him; but though he had before appeared full of fears and cares lest Esau should be defeated⁴; yet now he expressed himself fully satisfied with what he had done. I cannot but think that it pleased GOD at this time to open his understanding, and convince him that he had given the blessing to the right person. Before this time he said nothing but what any uninspired person might have said⁵. He wished his son *of the dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the Earth, and plenty of corn and wine*; adding such other circumstances of prosperity as his affection dictated; but saying nothing that can intimate that he had any particular view of any thing which was to happen to him; but now he began to speak with a better sense of things. He still wished Esau all possible happiness, *the fatness of the Earth and the dew of Heaven*⁶; but he knew, that the particular blessings promised to Abraham and his seed did not belong to him. He could now enter into his future life, and tell the circumstances of his posterity, and relate what should happen in after-days; describe how he and his descendants should live; acquaint him, that his brother's children should indeed be their governors; but that there should come a time, when his children should get the dominion, and break his brother's yoke from off their neck⁷. This particular was not accomplished until almost

⁴ Gen. xxvii, 18, 21, 24.

⁶ Ver. 39.

⁵ Ver. 27 — 29.

⁷ Ver. 40.

nine hundred years after this prediction; for this prophecy was fulfilled, when the land of Edom, peopled by the children of Esau, who had been brought into subjection to the seed of Jacob by king David⁸, revolted in the days of Jehoram⁹, and set up a king of their own, and brake the yoke of Jacob off their neck; being never after that time subject to any of the kings of Judah.

Esau was exceedingly provoked at his brother's thus obtaining the blessing from him, and determined, as soon as his father should be dead, to kill him². Rebekah heard of his intentions, and thought the most likely way to prevent mischief would be to send Jacob out of the way. She applied therefore to Isaac, mentioned to him the misfortune of Esau's marriages, and the comfort they might have of Jacob, if he would take care to dispose of himself better. Isaac therefore sent for Jacob, and charged him not to take a wife of the daughters of Canaan; but ordered him to go into Mesopotamia, and inquire for the family of Bethuel his mother's father, and get one of Laban's daughters for a wife, and if he did so, God would certainly bless him³, and give him the blessing of Abraham and the land of Canaan to his posterity. Jacob did as his father had directed him, and set

⁸ 2 Sam. viii, 14.

⁹ 2 Kings viii, 20—22.

¹ See Archbishop Usher's Annals; Prideaux Connect. vol. i, p. 6.

² Gen. xxvii, 41.

³ Chap. xxviii, the Hebrew words, ver. 3, are, God *Almighty* will bless thee, &c.

out for Mesopotamia. He was at first a little cast down at the length of the way, and the hazard of success in his journey; and when at night he went to sleep, with a head and heart full of cares, the GOD of Abraham and of Isaac⁴ appeared to him in a dream, and assured him, that he would preserve and protect him in his journey, and bring him safe back into Canaan again; that he would make him happy in a numerous progeny, and in time multiply them exceedingly, and give them the land for an inheritance which he had promised to Abraham; and moreover, that in him, i. e. *in his seed*, *all the families of the Earth should be blessed*. Thus at this time GOD expressly promised to him that particular blessing of Abraham, with the covenanted mercies belonging to it, which Isaac had before given him reason to hope for. Jacob was surprised at this extraordinary vision, and took the stones upon which he had laid his head, and reared them up into a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it, and made a vow, that if the GOD who thus appeared to him should bless and preserve him, protect him in his journey, and bring him back in safety, then *the LORD should be his GOD*⁵, and that he would worship him in the place where he had now erected the pillar; and that he would dedicate to his service the tenth of all the substance he should have.

Jacob pursued his journey, and came to Haran

⁴ Gen. xxviii, 13.

⁵ Ver. 21. See above p. 130, 131.

in Mesopotamia, where he found Laban and his relations, by whom he was received and welcomed with great joy⁶. But as he was not the only son of his father, nor the elder son, nor the heir of his father's substance; so he did not pretend to expect a wife in so pompous a way as his father had formerly done⁷. Laban had two daughters, Leah and Rachel: Jacob fancied the younger, and proposed to his uncle Laban, that he would stay with him seven years as his servant to take care of his flocks if he would give him Rachel to wife. To this proposal Laban agreed, but at the end of the seven years deceived him, and married him, not to Rachel, but to Leah. Jacob expressing some dissatisfaction at it, Laban told him, that he could not break through the custom of the country, by marrying his younger daughter before his elder; but that if he desired it, he would give him Rachel too, and he should serve him seven years more for her, after he had married her. To this Jacob agreed, and when the week was over for the celebration of Leah's nuptials, he married Rachel, and continued with Laban, and kept his flocks for seven years more. At the expiration of these seven years, Jacob had a family of twelve children; he had six sons and a daughter by Leah⁸; two sons by Zilpah, Leah's maid⁹; a son by Rachel¹; and two sons by Bilhah, Rachel's maid.²

⁶ Gen. xxix.⁷ Chap. xxiv.⁸ Chap. xxix, 32 — 35; xxx, 17, 19, 21.⁹ Chap. xxx, 9, 12.¹ Ver. 23.² Ver. 4, 7.

He now began to think it time to get into a way of making some provision for them, and therefore desired Laban to dismiss him, and to let him return to his father with his wives and children³. Laban had found by experience, that his substance prospered under Jacob's care, and was loth to part with him; and therefore agreed with him to stay upon such terms⁴, that Jacob in a few years grew rich under him, and was master of very considerable flocks of his own. Laban by degrees grew uneasy at seeing him increase so fast, so that Jacob perceived that his countenance was not towards him as before, that he was not so much in his favour as he used to be, and hereupon resolves to leave him.

There is a very obvious remark to be made upon Jacob's bargain with Laban, when he agreed to stay with him, and upon his behaviour consequent upon it. He bargained with Laban to serve him, upon condition that he might take for wages all the speckled and spotted cattle, and this with an air of integrity, to prevent mistakes about his hire⁵; *so shall my righteousness*, says he, *answer for me in time to come, when it shall come for my hire before thy face*. Jacob seemed desirous to make a clear and express bargain, about which they might have no disputes. If they had agreed for a particular number of cattle every year, there might have been room for cavil and suspicion.

³ Gen. xxx, 25, 26.

⁴ Ver. 28 — 42.

⁵ Ver. 31 — 33.

If any of the flock had by accident been lost, they might have differed, whether Jacob's or Laban's were the lost cattle; but to prevent all possible disputes, let me, says Jacob, have all the speckled and spotted cattle, and then whenever you shall have a mind to look into my stock, my integrity will at first sight come before your face, or be conspicuous; for you will immediately see whether I have any cattle besides what belong to me. Yet we find, that after all this seeming fairness, Jacob very artfully over-reached Laban, by using means to have the best cattle always bring forth such as he was to take; and he so ordered it, as to get away all the best of the cattle, so that the feebler only were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's⁶. This artifice may seem to argue that he was a man of very little honesty; but to this it may be answered: 1. Though Aristotle and Pliny, and several other writers, who are commonly cited by the remarkers upon this fact, and who all lived many ages later than Jacob, have been of opinion, that impressions made upon the imagination of the dam at the time of conception, may have a great effect upon the form, shape, and colour of the young; and though it may hence be inferred, that such a method as Jacob took might possibly produce the effect, which it had upon Laban's cattle; yet I cannot think that Jacob himself knew any thing of it. Men had not thus early inquired far into

⁶ Gen. xxx, 42.

the powers of nature ; philosophy was as yet very low and vulgar ; and observations of this sort were not thought of, or sought after. Religion and the worship of God was in these days the wisdom of the world ; and simplicity of manners and integrity of life were more studied, than curious and philosophical inquiries. If study and philosophy had helped men to these arts, how came Laban and his sons to know so very little ? They surely must have apprehended, that Jacob might by art variegate the cattle as he pleased, and would not have made so weak a bargain with him ; but they certainly had no notion that any such thing could be done ; nor had Jacob any thought of it, when he bargained with Laban. He chose the speckled cattle only to put an end to all cavils about his wages, not doubting but God would so order it, that he should have enough, and being determined to be contented with what God's providence should think fit to give him. It will here be asked, how came Jacob to make use of the pilled rods, if he did not think this an artful way to cause the cattle to bring forth ring-streaked, speckled, and spotted young ones ? To this I answer, 2. We read, that the angel of God spake unto him about this matter⁷. God saw the injustice of Laban's

⁷ Here seems to be a defect of two or three verses in our present copies of the Bible. Jacob tells his wives (Gen. xxxi, 11), that the angel of the Lord had spoken to him in a dream, upon Laban's ill usage ; but we have no account of any angel's speaking to him in chap. xxxi, before his using the pilled rods,

dealings with him, and the honesty and fidelity of Jacob in his service; therefore he determined to reward Jacob, and punish Laban. We are told, that GOD revealed to Jacob in a dream, that the cattle should be thus spotted; and very probably in the same dream GOD ordered him to make use of pilled rods in the manner he used them; and assured him, that if he did so, the favour which he had promised of increasing his wages should follow. We have frequent instances in Scripture, of GOD's appointing persons to perform some actions in order to receive his blessing; and that in one of these two ways: sometimes they are directed to do some action, upon which they should receive some sign or token, that what was promised them should be performed: thus Abraham was to take a heifer of three years old, and a she goat, and a ram, and a turtle dove, and a young pigeon, and

in any of our copies: but the Samaritan version gives us very great reason to think that there was originally a full account of this matter. After ver. 36, of chap. xxxi, the Samaritan version inserts as follows: *And the angel of the LORD called unto Jacob in a dream, and said, Jacob; and he answered, Here am I. And he said, Lift up now thine eyes, behold the rams leaping upon the cattle ring-streaked, speckled, and grisled, for I have seen all that Laban hath done to thee. I am the GOD of Bethel, to whom thou anointedst a pillar there, and to whom thou vowedst a vow there; but do thou arise now, and go out of this land, and return into the land of thy father, and I will bless thee.*—then follows; *And Jacob took green poplar rods, &c.* The early transcribers, through whose hands we have received our present copies of the Bible, may have dropped some such passage as this, which very fully answers to what Jacob afterwards told his wives.

to lay them in order for a sacrifice, and then he was to receive an assurance, that he should inherit Canaan⁸. At other times they are commanded to perform some action, which might testify their believing in God, and depending upon his promise; and upon doing such action the favour promised was to follow. Thus Naaman the Syrian, when he came to beg of God a cure of his leprosy, was directed to wash seven times in Jordan⁹; his washing in Jordan was to be an evidence of his believing that God would heal him, and upon giving this evidence of his belief he was to be cured. Now this was the case of Jacob here before us: God had told him, that he had seen all that Laban had done to him, but that he would take care that he should not hurt him, and that he designed to turn all Laban's contrivances to defraud him of his wages so much to his advantage, as that they should tend to the increase of his prosperity; and then God commanded him, in token of his belief and dependence upon him, to take the pilled rods, and use them as he directed. Jacob believed, and did as he was commanded; no more thinking, that the pilling white streaks in green boughs, and laying them in the troughs where the flocks were to drink, was a natural way to cause them to bring forth speckled and ring-streaked cattle, than Naaman did that washing in a river was a cure for the leprosy; but in both cases, the favour expected depending upon

⁸ Gen. xv, 9:⁹ 2 Kings v, 10.

the special providence of GOD, the particular directions of GOD were to be performed in order to obtain it. But, 3. I do not think it can be proved, that the method which Jacob used is a natural and effectual way of causing cattle to bring forth speckled and ring-streaked young. As almost all the conjectures of the ancient heathen writers upon the powers of nature had their first rise from some hints or facts in the Hebrew writings, so, perhaps, what is offered by Aristotle, and other ancient writers, about the effects which impressions made upon the imagination of the dam may have upon their young, might be first occasioned by this fact thus recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures, or by some remarks of ancient writers made from it; but it is observable, that the ancient naturalists carried their thoughts upon these subjects much farther than they would bear; and we, who live in an age of far better philosophy, do not find, that we know so much as Aristotle thought he did upon these subjects. The effects of impressions upon the imagination must be very accidental, because the objects which should cause them may or may not be taken notice of, as any one would find, who should try Jacob's pilled rods to variegate his cattle with. The waters of Jordan may cure a leprosy, or Jacob's pilled rods produce spotted cattle; either of these means may have the desired effect, if a particular providence directs them, but without such providence neither of these means may have any effect at all. I might add farther, 4. If we

should allow that the pilled rods, as Jacob used them, might naturally produce the effect upon Laban's cattle which followed, yet since, as I before hinted, we have no reason to think Jacob remarkably learned beyond Laban and all his children, for it is not probable that he alone should know this grand secret, and all other persons have not the least suspicion of it; we can at most only suppose that GOD directed him to what he did in this matter. In Hezekiah's sickness¹, the prophet directed an application of figs, in order to his recovery, and Hezekiah recovered upon the application of them; but since this application was made not by any rules of physic then known, but by a divine direction, we must ascribe the cure immediately to GOD himself, even though it may possibly be argued, that figs were a proper medicine for Hezekiah's distemper. They were not then known or thought to be so, and therefore human skill or prescription had no part in the cure. Thus in Jacob's case, if it can be supposed that pilled rods may be naturally a means to variegate young cattle, yet unless we can think he knew that the use of them would naturally have this effect, and that he used them, not in obedience to a special direction from GOD, but merely as an art to get Laban's cattle, we cannot lay any blame upon him; it cannot, I think, be supposed that Jacob had any such knowledge. GOD Almighty determined to punish

¹ Isaiah xxxviii, 21.

Laban for his injustice, and reward Jacob for his fidelity; therefore he revealed to Jacob the manner in which he designed to bless him, and ordered him to do an action as a token that he embraced God's promise, and expected the performance of it. Jacob faithfully observed the orders which were given him, and God blessed him according to his promise. Now there is no reason for us to think, that Jacob knew of or used any art to over-reach Laban and get away his cattle; but the true conclusion is what Jacob himself expressed in his speech to his wives: *Ye know, that with all my power I have served your father; and your father hath deceived me, and changed my wages ten times; but God suffered him not to hurt me. If he said thus, the speckled shall be thy wages, then all the cattle bare speckled: and if he said thus, the ring-straked shall be thy hire, then bare all the cattle ring-straked. Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your father, and given them unto me*².

Jacob, finding Laban and his sons every day more and more indisposed towards him, took an opportunity, and contrived matters with his wives, and separated his own from his father-in-law's cattle, and retiring in a private manner, passed over Euphrates and made towards mount Gilead³. He was gone three days before Laban heard of it, who, when it was told him, gathered his family together and pursued him for seven days, and

² Gen. xxxi, 6 — 9.

³ Ver. 17.

overtook him at Gilead. From Haran to mount Gilead must be above two hundred and fifty miles; so that Jacob made haste to travel thither in ten days, going about twenty-five miles each day; and Laban's pursuit of him was very eager, for he marched about thirty-seven miles a day for seven days together; but he was resolved to overtake him. When he came up with him, he purposed in his heart to revenge himself upon him; but here God was pleased to interpose, and warn Laban not to offer Jacob any evil⁴. Hereupon, when he came up to him, he only expostulated with him his manner of leaving him, and complained that he had stolen his teraphim, which Rachel, fond of the memory of her ancestors, had, without Jacob's knowledge, taken away with her⁵; but, upon Jacob's offering all his company to be searched, Laban, not being able to find where Rachel had hid them, they grew friends, made a solemn engagement with each other, and then parted. Laban returned home, and Jacob went on towards the place where he had left his father.

Jacob was now returning into Canaan in great prosperity; he was a few years before very low in the world, but now he had wives, children, and servants, and a substance abundantly sufficient to maintain them. When he went over Jordan to go to Haran, his staff or walking stick was all his substance; but when he came to repass it, in order

⁴ Gen. xxxi, 24.

⁵ Ver. 30; see vol. i, book v.

to return into Canaan, he found himself master of so large a family as to make up two bands or companies⁶; and all this increase so justly acquired, that he could with an assured heart look up to God, and acknowledge his having truly blessed him⁷, according to the promise which he had made.

After Jacob had parted from Laban, he began to think of the danger which might befall him at his return home. The displeasure of his brother Esau came fresh into his mind, and he was sensible he could have no security if he did not make his peace with him. Esau, when Jacob went to Haran, observing how strictly his father charged him not to marry a Canaanite, began to be dissatisfied with his own marriages⁸; therefore he went to Ishmael, and married one of his daughters, and went and lived in mount Seir in the land of Edom. Jacob finding by inquiry that he was settled here, thought it necessary to send to him in order to appease him, that he might be secure of living without molestation from him.

Some writers have questioned why, or how Jacob should send this message to his brother. Jacob was in Gilead, and Esau in mount Seir, one hundred and twenty miles at least distant from one another. Jacob went down Gilead to the brook Jabbok⁹; from whence his way lay over Jordan into Canaan, without coming any nearer to Esau;

⁶ Gen. xxxii, 10.

⁷ Chap. xxxi, 9, and xxxii, 12.

⁸ Chap. xxviii, 6—9.

⁹ Chap. xxxii, 22.

why therefore should he send to him? or having lived so long at such a distance, how should he know where he was settled, or what was become of him? These objections have been thought considerable by some very good writers; and Adrichomius conceived it necessary to describe Seir in a different situation from that in which the common maps of Canaan place it. He imagined, that there were two distinct countries called by the name of the land of Edom, and in each of them a mountain called Seir; and that one of them, namely that in which Esau lived at this time lay near mount Gilead; and Brocard and Torniellus¹ are said to have been of the same opinion. They say, the children of Esau removed hence in time into the other Edom or Idumea, when they grew strong enough to expel the Horites out of it²; but that they did not live in this Edom, which was the land of the Horites in Jacob's days. But as there are no accounts of Canaan which can favour this opinion, I cannot see how this situation of Edom can be admitted. They make and invent names and places, known to no writers but themselves; and so create real difficulties in geography, to solve imaginary ones in history. The Horites were indeed the first inhabitants of Seir, and the land of Edom, and were in possession of it in Esau's days; for he married one of their daughters, namely, Aholibamah the granddaughter of Zibeon³, and

¹ Pool's Syn. in loc.² Deut. ii, 12.³ Gen. xxxvi, 2.

daughter of Anah; and this Zibeon was the son of Seir the Horite⁴, and Anah was Seir's grandson⁵, and both of them were in their turns dukes or princes in the land⁶. Esau therefore lived and married in this country; for here only we find the persons, whose daughter he took to wife; and he lived here a sojourner in the kingdoms of other men, until after some generations GOD gave this country to his children, who destroyed the Horites, and took possession of their country, as Israel did of the land of his possession, which the LORD gave unto them⁷. As to mount Seir's being very distant from Gilead, where Jacob stopped, and sent messengers to Esau, it is certain it was so; so far distant, that after Jacob and Esau had met, Jacob represented it as too long a journey for his children to take, or his cattle to be driven, but by easy advances⁸. It is easy to say, how Jacob could tell where Esau lived, and why he thought fit to send to him. It is not to be supposed that Jacob could be so imprudent as to carry his wives, children, and substance into Canaan, without knowing whether he might safely venture thither; therefore very probably, when he rested at Gilead, he sent messengers to inquire whether his father was alive; what condition he was in, and what temper the inhabitants of the land showed him, and whether he might safely come and live near him. And when he found that he should meet with no ob-

⁴ Gen. xxxvi, 20,⁵ Ibid.⁶ Ver. 29.⁷ Deut. ii, 12.⁸ Gen. xxxiii, 13, 14.

struction, if he could but reconcile Esau to him, he very prudently sent to him also, intending, if he should find Esau averse to him, to bend his course some other way⁹. Thus Jacob's message to Esau may be best accounted for, by supposing Esau's habitation in the land of Edom to be according to the common and known geography of that country; and Adrichomius's scheme of two Edoms being a mere fiction, purely to solve a seeming difficulty, ought justly to be rejected.

Jacob was in more than ordinary fear of his brother Esau, and his messengers at their return surprised him still more, by informing him, that Esau was coming after them attended by four hundred men¹. He concluded now, that his brother had a design to take his full revenge, and destroy him and all that belonged to him. In his distress he

⁹ If we consider what had passed between Esau and Jacob, before Jacob went from home, it will appear very proper that Jacob should send to him, before he ventured to come and sit down with his substance near his father. Esau still expected to be his father's heir; and if Jacob had returned home without Esau's knowledge, it would have laid a foundation for a greater misunderstanding at Isaac's death, than any which had as yet been between them. Esau would have thought, that Jacob had got the greatest part of his substance from his father; and when he came, at Isaac's death, to take away with him into Edom, what his father had to leave him, he would have looked upon Jacob, as having for many years been contriving to get from him all he could. It was therefore Jacob's interest to have Esau fully satisfied in this point; and for this reason, as well as others, he sent to him, to apprise him, that he brought his substance with him from Haran, and that he was not going into Canaan to do him any injury.

¹ Gen. xxxii, 6.

cried unto GOD; and after that applied himself to contrive the most likely expedients for his safety. First of all, he divided his company into two parts; that if Esau should fall upon one part, he might have a possibility to escape with the other. In the next place, he ordered a very extraordinary present of the choice of his flocks and herds, divided into several droves, which he sent before him. After this he sent his wives and children, and all his substance over the brook Jabbok², staying behind them himself alone some time. Here GOD was pleased to put an end to his fears, by giving him an extraordinary sign or token, to assure him that he should get through all the difficulties, which seemed to threaten him. There came an angel in the shape and appearance of a man, and wrestled with him. It was the same divine person, according to Hosea³, who appeared to him at Bethel. They struggled together, but the angel did not overcome him; and at parting, when the angel blessed him, he told him the design of his contest with him; namely, to instruct him, that as he had not been conquered in this contest, so neither should he be overcome by the difficulties which then threatened him. The angel said to him, *Thy name shall be called no more Jacob but Israel; for as a prince hast thou power with GOD, and with men, and hast prevailed*⁴; or rather, the latter part of the verse should be thus translated, *for thou*

² Gen. xxxiii, 22, 23.³ Hosea xii, 4.⁴ Gen. xxxii, 28.

hast been a prevailer with GOD; and with men thou shalt also powerfully prevail. This is the true verbal translation of the Hebrew words; and the vulgar Latin⁵, the LXX, and Onkelos in his Targum, have very justly expressed the true sense of the place, but our English version is too obscure.

Jacob, full of the assurance which the angel had given him, prepared his wives and children to meet Esau; and instructed them when they should come up to him, to pay him all possible respect by bowing down to him: he himself came up last, and when he met Esau bowed himself to the ground seven times. Whatever apprehension Jacob had entertained of Esau's resentment, he had the happiness to find him in a much better temper than he expected. Esau was full of all possible affection towards him, ran at sight to meet him, embraced him with the greatest tenderness⁶, and wept over him with tears of joy. As to the present of the cattle, Esau would not have taken it, for he said he had enough; but Jacob pressed him to accept it. Esau invited Jacob to Seir, and offered to conduct him thither; but Jacob had no design to ac-

⁵ The Hebrew words are,

כִּי שְׂרִית עִם אֱלֹהִים וְעִם אָנָשִׁים וְתִרְבֶּה

prævalebis. etiam hominibus cum et Deo cum prævaluisti quoniam The vulgaar Latin translates the place, *quoniam si contra Deum fortis fuisti, quanto magis contra homines prævalebis.* The LXX render the place *Ὅτι ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ Θεοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δύνατος ἐσῇ.* Onkelos has it, *quoniam princeps es tu coram Deo, et cum hominibus prævalebis.*

⁶ Gen. xxxiii, 4.

cept the invitation, and yet was afraid directly to refuse it. He designed to keep at a convenient distance, and not to live too near, for fear of future inconveniences. He therefore represented the tenderness of his children and flock, that they could not travel with expedition; he begged they might not confine him to their slow movements, but that he would return home to his own place, and that they would follow as fast as they conveniently could. Esau then offered him some of his servants to show him the way; but Jacob evaded this offer also, and so they parted. Esau went to Seir, expecting his brother would follow him; but Jacob turned another way, went to Succoth and built himself a house, and lived there some time; and afterwards removed to Salem, a city of the Shechemites, and bought some ground of the children of Hamor, and there settled⁷.

Soon after Jacob was fixed at Shechem, there happened a misfortune which unsettled him again⁸. His daughter Dinah visited the Shechemites, and Shechem the prince of the country fell in love with her, and lay with her. Her father and brothers, resenting the injury and scandal of so base an action, could not bear the thought of being reconciled to him; though he had all along a most passionate desire to marry Dinah. He had desired his father Hamor to treat with Jacob about it, and Hamor desired Jacob's consent to it upon any

⁷ Gen. xxxiii, 19.

⁸ Gen. xxxiv.

terms; but in their treating about it, the sons of *Jacob answered Hamor and Shechem deceitfully*, and pretended that they could make no marriages with an uncircumcised people. Hereupon Hamor and Shechem persuaded all their people to be circumcised, in order to incorporate with Jacob's family; but when this was done, three days after the operation, when the Shechemites were not fit for war, two of Jacob's sons, Simeon and Levi, *took each man his sword, and came upon the city boldly, and slew all the males*, and they killed Hamor and Shechem, and took away Dinah out of the house⁹. As soon as Simeon and Levi had thus executed the part of the revenge which they had taken upon themselves to perform for the abuse of their sister, the other sons of Jacob¹, who had very probably armed their servants, and were ready to have assisted Simeon and Levi, if they had wanted it, came upon the slain and spoiled the city; they seized upon the cattle and wealth of the Shechemites, and took their wives and their little ones captive. Jacob was much concerned at these furious proceedings of his sons, and apprehended that the inhabitants of the land would unite against him for this violent outrage; but his sons Simeon and Levi were so enraged with the thought of the dishonour done their sister and family, that they did not think they had carried their resentment too far

⁹ Gen. xxxiv, 25, 26.

¹ Ver. 27. Quibus egressis irruerunt super occisos cæteræ filii Jacob. Vers. vulg. Lat.

for so base an injury². However, Jacob thought he should be more secure if he removed his habitation to some other part of the country, and upon receiving a particular direction from God where to go, he removed to Bethel³.

Upon Jacob's designing to go to Bethel, he found it necessary to make a reformation in his family, and *said unto his household, and to all that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you*⁴. Now one might suppose from these words, that idols and idolatry crept into his family; and some writers imagine, that Rachel his wife introduced them, by bringing out of Haran her father's teraphim, which she stole at her coming away. But it is remarkable, that Jacob had now with him more persons than his own household; for over and above these, he spake unto *all that were with him*. The captives of Shechem, which his sons had taken, were now incorporated into his family, and he had to reduce them into new order; to abrogate any habits of their dress or ornaments, or any rites or usages in religion, which they might have used at Shechem, if he judged them unsuitable to his religion, or to the order in which he desired to keep his family; agreeably hereto, the gods he took care to put away were not the teraphim, or little pillars or statues, which Rachel brought from Haran⁵; but the *elohei han-necar*, gods of the stranger, who was in the midst of them, or amongst

² Gen. xxxiv, 31.

⁴ Ver. 2.

³ Gen. xxxv, 1, 6.

⁵ See vol. i, b. v.

them, *i.e.* of the Shechemites, whom they had taken captive and brought into his family. The Hebrew words are remarkably different from our English translation. The word *strange* in the Hebrew does not refer to gods, as our translators took it, and therefore rendered the place *strange gods*; but the Hebrew words are, as I have translated them, *the gods of the stranger*, &c.; and these, together with the superfluous ornaments of dress which the Shechemitish women had used, were what he took away, and buried under an oak in Shechem⁶, in order to preserve in his family that purity of worship, and simplicity of life and manners, which he designed to keep up amongst them. After he had done this, he removed for Bethel, and gat safe thither. The inhabitants of the several cities round about were so far from any thoughts of attacking him, that they looked upon him as a person powerful enough to engage with any of them, and were very much afraid of him⁷. After Jacob came to Bethel, God appeared to him and confirmed the change of his name, which had been made at Jabbok; and gave him fresh assurance of his design of blessing and multiplying his posterity, and of giving them the inheritance of the land of Canaan⁸. Some time after this Jacob journeyed from Bethel, and near Ephrath his wife Rachel died in labour of Benjamin⁹; and Jacob buried her near Ephrath or Bethlehem¹. From hence Jacob removed

⁶ Gen. xxxv, 4.⁷ Ver. 5.⁸ Ver. 9 — 12.⁹ Ver. 16 — 18.¹ Ver. 19.

and spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar; and soon after removed hence, and came to the plain of Mamre, to the city of Arbah or Hebron, to his father Isaac, who at that time lived here². He had met with several misfortunes from the time that he removed from Bethel; the death of his wife at Ephrath, and his son Reuben's baseness in lying with his concubine Billah, at Edar; besides which, there was a difference amongst his children, which in a little time ended in the loss of his son Joseph³.

Joseph was his beloved child, a circumstance which drew upon him the envy of his brethren, and increased to perfect hatred upon his telling them some dreams, which seemed to imply that he should be advanced in the world far above any of them. They told Jacob of Joseph's dreams, and Jacob thought it proper to discountenance the aspiring thoughts to which he imagined they would too naturally lead him; however, he could not but think in his heart, that there was something more than ordinary in them⁴. Some time after this, Jacob sent Joseph from Hebron to Dothan, where his other sons were taking care of the flocks; who, as soon as Joseph came in sight, called to mind his dreams, and were in a great heat about him, and designed to kill him. But Reuben endeavoured to prevent his being murdered, and persuaded

² Gen. xxxv, 21, 27.

³ Ver. 22, and chap. xxxvii,

⁴ Gen. xxxvii, 3 — 11.

them to throw him into a pit, and there leave him, intending, when they were all gone, to come back to the place and help him out, and so to send him home to his father⁵. But whilst they were in these debates, some Ishmaelites happened to come by, who were travelling from mount Gilead to Egypt with spicery; upon sight of whom they determined to sell him⁶. They sold him, and the Ishmaelites carried him to Egypt, and there sold him again to Potiphar, the captain of the king's guard⁷. Jacob's sons killed a kid, and dipped Joseph's coat in the blood, and at their coming home, told their father that they found it in that condition; so that Jacob thought some wild beast had killed him, and he mourned exceedingly for him⁸. Joseph was more than seventeen years old when his brethren sold him into Egypt⁹; and about eight or nine years after he was sold thither, Isaac, being one hundred and eighty years old, died, A. M. 2288¹.

Isaac's death brought Esau and Jacob to another meeting; for Esau came from Seir to Mamre to assist at his father's funeral, and to receive as heir his father's substance. Jacob, though he came to Mamre to live near his father, some years before Isaac died, had yet been exceeding careful of laying any foundation for a misunderstanding with his brother, and therefore had not brought his flocks

⁵ Gen. xxxvii, 21, 22.

⁶ Ver. 25 — 28.

⁷ Ver. 36.

⁸ Ver. 31 — 35.

⁹ For he was seventeen when Jacob lived at Edar, ver. 2.

¹ Gen. xxxv, 28, 29.

or substance into that part of the country. For we find that when he lived at Hebron, his sons were sent to take care of the flocks to Shechem and Dothan²; so that he had carefully kept at a distance, and given Esau no reason to suspect, that he had any ways intermixed what he had gotten with what was his father's, or taken any opportunity to get away any thing from his father, to Esau's hindrance. After Isaac was buried, Esau had no mind to live at Mamre; for he considered, that what he had at Seir, and what he had now got in Canaan by his father's death, would be so great a stock, that it would be difficult to find sufficient room for him to live in Canaan, especially if his brother Jacob should settle there near him; therefore he took what he had in Canaan³, and carried it with him into Seir.

The land of Seir was at this time possessed by the Horites or Horims⁴, and these were the inhabitants of it in the days of Abraham; for Chedorlaomer, out of whose hand Abraham rescued Lot, found them here when he brought his armies to subdue the nations of Canaan⁵. Seir, the Horite, was contemporary with Abraham and Chedorlaomer, though probably something older than Abraham; for Esau, Abraham's grandson, married Aholibamah the daughter of Seir's grandson⁶. If Seir was king of the Horites, he might fall in bat-

² Gen. xxxvii, 13, 17.

⁴ Deut. ii, 12.

⁶ Chap. xxxvi, 2, 25.

³ Chap. xxxvi, 6.

⁵ Gen. xiv, 6.

tle; for *Chedorlaomer smote the Horites in their mount Seir unto El-paran*⁷. Under the sons of Seir, the Horites gathered some strength again, and were governed by Seir's sons, who became dukes of the land⁸, either ruling jointly, or setting up several little sovereignties; and in the time of these dukes Esau came to live at Seir. His full determination of settling there was at Isaac's death⁹, towards the decline of Esau's life; for Isaac was sixty years old when Esau was born¹, and he lived to be one hundred and eighty², so that Esau at his death was one hundred and twenty; and this must be in the time of the third generation from Seir, when the children of Lotan, and of Zibeon, and of Shobal, and of Anah, the sons of Seir, ruled the land. Agreeably hereto Esau married a daughter of the men of this generation; Aholibamah the daughter of Anah; which Anah was not Anah the son of Seir, but Anah the son of Zibeon, and grandson of Seir³, *this was that Anah, who found the mules in the Wilderness as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father*⁴, for he is by this action distinguished from the other Anah. The sons of Seir did not keep the dominion of these countries long, for the children of Esau got it from them. The children of *Esau destroyed the Horites, and dwelt in their*

⁷ Gen. xiv, 6.

⁹ Ver. 6.

² Chap. xxxv, 28.

⁴ Gen. xxxvi, 24.

⁸ Chap. xxxvi, 21.

¹ Chap. xxv, 26.

³ Chap. xxxvi, 2, 20, 24.

*stead, as Israel did in the land of his possession, which the LORD gave unto him*⁵. This conquest of the Horites happened not in Esau's days, nor in his children's, or grand-children's days; but in the days of his grand-children's children; for the descendants of Esau, who became dukes of Edom, were Timna, Alia, Jetheth, Aholibamah, Elah, Pinon, Kenaz, Teman, Mibzar, Magdiel, Iram, as the writer of the book of Chronicles has expressly remarked⁶, *These were the dukes of Edom*. Esau, and the children of Esau, and their children, are all enumerated, but they are not said to have been dukes of Edom; but the persons above-mentioned only⁷. I am sensible that what I have here offered may be thought not entirely to agree with what we find in the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis. In that chapter some of the sons of Esau are said to have been dukes⁸; and most of his grand-children are likewise said to have arrived at this dignity⁹. But in answer to this it should be remarked, that the verses from ver. 15 to ver. 20, do not say, that the sons or grandsons of Esau there mentioned were dukes of Edom, but only that they were dukes in the land of Edom. Now this distinction should be carefully observed; for the true matter of fact was this; the children of Esau, in the days of Esau's sons and grandsons, set up a form of government among themselves, and over their own families, and the persons who

⁵ Deut. ii, 12.⁶ 1 Chron. i, 51, ad fin.⁷ Ver. 35 — 37.⁸ Gen. xxxvi, 18.⁹ Ver. 15, 16, 17.

ruled them were dukes, not over the land of Edom, for the inhabitants of the land were not yet subject to them, but they were dukes in the land, and ruled the children of Esau, and so were, as they are called (alephaiv), their dukes¹. Their children afterwards conquered the Horites, and took possession of the whole land, and so became dukes of Edom; and the persons who attained this larger dignity were the persons mentioned ver. 40, 41, 42, 43, *these be the dukes of Edom*. Thus the several parts of this chapter may be reconciled to one another; and this chapter made intirely agreeable to the first chapter of 1 Chronicles. If the dukes, who descended from Esau, had been all alike dukes of Edom, they would have been placed all together; but some of them being only the rulers of their own children, and the others governors of the whole land, the writer of the book of Genesis separates and distinguishes the one from the other; and the writer of the book of Chronicles does not mention the one order to have been dukes at all, determining to give the title to those only who had governed the whole country. The children of Esau, when they had made themselves dukes of Edom, continued this form of government but a short time, for they soon after set up a king. The time when they set up a king may be determined from Moses. They were governed by dukes, when the Israelites went out of Egypt³; and they had a king when Moses would have

¹ Gen. xxxvi, 19.³ Exod. xv, 15.

passed through their land to Canaan³; so that their first king was contemporary with Moses, and began his reign a little after the Israelites came out of Egypt, *i. e.* about A. M. 2515⁴. His reigning at this time is very consistent with his succeeding Esau's grand-children's children; for Moses was the fifth in descent from Jacob, as this first king of Edom was from Esau; for the father of Moses was Amram, his father Cohath, Levi was the father of Cohath, and son of Jacob⁵; so that the descents or generations in each family correspond very exactly. The first king of Edom was Bela the son of Beor⁶, and he was the brother of Balaam, whom Balak sent for about this time to curse Israel; for Beor was Balaam's father⁷. The Edomites had eight successive kings *before there reigned any king over the children of Israel*⁸; as they might very well have; for, from the beginning of Bela's reign, the time when Saul was anointed king over Israel, A. M. 2909⁹, is three hundred and ninety-nine years; so that these eight kings of Edom must be supposed one with another to reign something above forty-eight years each, which suits very well with the length of men's lives in these times.

Thus I have gone through the account we have

³ Numb. xx, 14.

⁴ Archbishop Usher's Chronology.

⁵ 1 Chron. vi, 1, 2, 3.

⁶ Gen. xxxvi, 32.

⁷ Numb. xxii, 5.

Gen. xxxvi, 31; 1 Chron. i, 43.

⁹ Archbishop Usher's Chronology.

of Esau's family, from Esau to the time when Saul reigned over Israel; and I think from what has been said it will easily appear, that the several parts of the thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis are entirely consistent with one another; and the whole agreeable to the account we have of the same family in the book of Chronicles. Some learned writers have made great difficulties in their explication of Moses's account of this family; and have been in great doubt, whether the kings mentioned from ver. 31 to 40, were sons of Esau, or Horites, and when they reigned. But I think their reigns fall so naturally into the compass of time in which I have placed them, that there can be little reason to suppose, that this is not the true place of them; and none, if Beor the father of Balaam was the father of Bela the first of these kings, which seems very probable; for if Beor (mentioned Gen. xxxvi, 32.), had not been the same person with the father of Balaam¹, Moses would either not have mentioned the name at all, or have distinguished the one person from the other. The dukes of Edom, being placed after the list of the kings, has occasioned some learned writers to suppose that they succeeded them; and the Latin version in the first chapter of the first book of Chronicles favours their opinion very much². But the Hebrew words do not at all countenance such a version; and we

¹ Numb. xxii, 5.

² 1 Chron. i, 51, is translated thus; Mortuo autem Adad, duces pro regibus esse cœperunt.

find from Saul's time, wherever the Edomites are spoken of, they were governed by a king, and not by dukes. It is said, that if the dukes at the end of the chapter were before the kings, then the order of the narration is very unnatural. I answer, not very unnatural, if rightly considered; for it is only thus; 1. We have an account of Esau's family from verse 9 to verse 15, and this family being very numerous (for we read that Esau had an attendance of four hundred men), it is remarked, that they set up a civil government among themselves; and we are told who the persons were that bore rule among them from verse 15 to verse 20. 2. Then follows an account of the Horites, in whose land Esau and his children dwelt, from verse 20 to verse 30. 3. In the next place we have an account of the kings, by whom the children of Esau were governed after they had expelled the Horites; and before the time when the Israelites had a king, from verse 31 to verse 39. 4. It is remarked that kings were not the first rulers of the land of Edom which the sons of Esau set up; for they had one generation of dukes of Edom, verse 40 to the end. The most learned dean Prideaux³ very justly observes, that "the words in the 31st verse of this chapter, *And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the land of Israel*, could not have been said, till after there had been

³ Connect. part i, book v, p. 492.

a king in Israel, and therefore cannot be Moses's words, but must have been interpolated afterwards;" for it is hard to conceive, that the list of kings there mentioned could be inserted by him, when all, except the first, reigned after Moses was dead. If this be the case, if I could have the authority of any learned writer to suppose that Ezra, or whoever was the inspired writer that inserted them⁴, might at first insert these kings after the dukes at the end of the chapter, but that some careless transcribers have misplaced them, I should readily embrace it.

We meet with no farther mention of Esau's life, death, or actions, in Moses's history; but it may not be amiss, before we leave him, to take a short view of his character. Esau was a plain, generous, and honest man: for we have no reason, from any thing that appears in his life or actions, to think him wicked beyond other men of his age and times; and his generous and good temper appears from all his behaviour towards his brother. The artifice used to deprive him of the blessing, did at the time abundantly enrage him; and in the heat of passion he thought when Isaac should be dead to take a full revenge, and kill his brother for supplanting him; but a little time reduced him to be calm again, and he never took one step to Jacob's injury. When they first met he was all humanity

⁴ The most learned dean intimates, that Ezra was undoubtedly the author of this and the other interpolations which he mentions, p. 493.

and affection⁵; and he had no uneasiness, when he found that Jacob followed him not to Seir, but went to live near his father: and at Isaac's death, we do not find he made any difficulty of quitting Canaan, which very circumstance, if he had harboured any latent intentions, would have revived all his resentments. He is indeed called in scripture the profane Esau⁶, and he is said to have been hated of God; *the children*, says St. Paul⁷, *being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God, according to election, might stand; not of works, but of him that calleth, it was said unto her, the elder shall serve the younger.* And it is written, *Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated*⁸. There is, I think, no reason to infer from any of these expressions, that Esau was a very wicked man, or that God hated and punished him for an immoral life. For, 1. The sentence here against him is said expressly to be founded not upon his actions, because it was determined before the children had done good or evil. 2. God's hatred of Esau, here spoken of by St. Paul, was not a hatred, which induced him to punish him with any evil; for Esau was as happy in all the blessings of this life, as either Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob; and his posterity had a land designed by God to be their possession as well as the children of Jacob. They were also enabled to drive out and dispossess the inhabitants of it, as

⁵ Gen. xxxiii, 4.

⁷ Rom. ix, 11, 12.

⁶ Heb. xii, 16.

⁸ Ver. 13.

Israel did to the land of his possession⁹, and they were put in possession of it much sooner than the Israelites. GOD was pleased moreover to protect them in the enjoyment of it, and to caution the Israelites against invading them with a remarkable strictness¹, as he also cautioned them against invading the land which he designed to give to the children of Lot². Now as GOD was pleased thus to bless Esau and his children in the blessings of this life, even as much as he blessed Abraham, or Isaac, or Jacob, if not more; why may we not hope to find him with them at the last day, as well as Job, or Lot, or any other good and virtuous man, who was not designed to be a partaker of the blessing given unto Abraham? For, 3. All the punishment inflicted on Esau was an exclusion from being heir of the blessing promised to Abraham and to his seed; which was a favour not granted to Lot, to Job, or to several other very virtuous and good men. 4. St. Paul, in the passage before cited, does not intend to represent Esau as a person who had particularly merited GOD's displeasure; but to show the Jews that GOD had all along given the favours which led to the Messiah where he pleased; to Abraham, not to Lot; to Jacob, not to Esau; as, at the time St. Paul wrote, the Gentiles were made the people of GOD, and not the Jews. 5. Esau is indeed called profane (βεβηλος); but I think that word does not mean wicked or im-

⁹ Deut. ii, 5, and 12.¹ Ver. 4, 5.² Ver. 9

moral (*ασεβης* or *αμαρτωλος*)³; he was called so for not having that due value for the priest's office which he ought to have had. In this point there seems to have been a defect in his character; hunting and such diversions of life were more pleasing to him than the views and prospects which the promises of God had opened to his family, and which his brother Jacob was more thoughtful about than he. Therefore, though I think it does not appear, that he was cut off from being the heir of them by any particular action in his life, yet his temper and thoughts appear to be such, as to evidence, that God's purpose towards Jacob was founded upon the truest wisdom; Jacob being in himself the fittest person to be the heir of the mercies, which God designed for him.

When Joseph was sold into the family of Potiphar, he soon obtained himself a station, in which he might have lived with great comfort. His master saw, that he was a youth of great sense and diligence, and very prosperous in his undertakings; therefore in a little time he made him his steward⁴, and put all his affairs under his management. Being thus in a condition of life, in which he might have been very happy, his mistress fell in love with him; but in the integrity of his heart he refused to comply with her desires, and took the liberty to reprove her, and shunned all opportunities of being at any time alone with her⁵. Whether she feared

³ 1 Tim. i, 9.⁴ Gen. xxxix, 4.⁵ Ver. 8, 9, 10.

by his manner and behaviour that he might accuse her to her husband; or whether she was enraged at the slight she thought hereby offered, upon his peremptorily refusing to comply with her, she accused him to Potiphar of a design to ravish her, and had him laid in prison. Joseph, being kept in prison above two years, got into favour with the keeper of the prison, and was entrusted by him with the management of all the affairs belonging to the prison, and with the custody of the prisoners⁶. Two years and something more after Joseph's imprisonment⁷, the king of Egypt dreamed two very remarkable dreams, both which seemed to be of the same import. The king had a great uneasiness about them, and the more, because none of his Magi could interpret, or tell him the meaning of them. In the midst of his perplexity, his chief butler or cup-bearer called to mind, that himself had been some time before under the king's displeasure, and in prison with Joseph, and that Joseph had very punctually interpreted a dream of his, and another of the king's baker, who was in prison with him⁸. He gave the king an account of it, which occasioned Joseph to be sent for. Joseph came, and heard the king's dreams, and told him their meaning, that there would be all over Egypt, first of all seven years of plenty, and then a severe famine for seven years; and added, that since it had pleased God thus to inform the king

⁶ Gen. xxxix, 22, 23.

⁷ Chap. xli, 1.

⁸ Ver. 9.

what seasons he intended, he hoped he would make a right use of the information, and appoint some discreet and wise person, with proper officers under him, to gather a fifth part of each plenteous year's product, and lay it up in store against the time of scarcity. The king conceived a very great opinion of Joseph, both from his interpretation of the dreams, and from the advice he gave upon them; and thought no one could be so fit to manage the office of gathering the corn in the years of plenty, as he who had so wisely thought of a scheme so beneficial; and therefore immediately made him his deputy over the land of Egypt⁹. Joseph was, I think, above twenty years old when his brethren sold him; and he was thirty when Pharaoh thus advanced him¹; so that it pleased God in less than ten years to promote him, from a lad, the younger son of a private traveller, through various changes and accidents of life, by several steps, and not without a mixture of some severe misfortunes, to be the head of a very potent kingdom, inferior only to him who wore the crown. He wore the king's ring, had all the marks and distinctions that belong to the highest rank of life, rode in Pharaoh's second chariot, and wherever he passed, the officers appointed cried before him, *Bow the knee*². Pharaoh called Joseph Zaph-

⁹ Gen. xli, 38 — 41.

¹ Ver. 46.

² Gen. xli, 41 — 44. The best expositors do not take the word *Abrek*, to signify bow the knee, as our translation renders it; but they suppose it to be a name of honour, which Pharaoh

nathpaaneah³, and married him to the priest of On's daughter; by whom he had two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim⁴.

In the years of plenty Joseph had gathered a sufficient stock of corn, not only for Egypt, but to supply the neighbouring countries; and in the years of famine, when he opened his stores, and sold out his provision, he acquired immense riches for the king. The Egyptians bought his corn with money, until all the money of the land of Egypt, and all that could be procured out of the land of Canaan, was in Pharaoh's treasury. Then they exchanged their cattle for corn, until Pharaoh had purchased all them also; and in the last place, they sold their lands and possessions, so that by Joseph's conduct, Pharaoh was become sole proprietor of all the money, cattle, and lands of all Egypt⁵. There are two or three particulars very remarkable in Joseph's management of this affair. 1. When the Egyptians had parted with all their money, cattle, and lands, and still wanted sustenance, they offered to become Pharaoh's servants⁶; but Joseph refused to accept of this offer. He seems to have had a great and true insight into things; and could not think, that he should really

caused to be proclaimed before Joseph. See Ver. LXX, Targum Onkelos; vers. Samaritan; vers. Syriac; vers. Arab.; et Castellii Lexicon Heptaglotton, in verb ברך Abrek, vox Egyptia est Παιανισμος quidam. See Pool Synopsis in loc.

³ The name which Pharaoh gave Joseph is an Egyptian name, and signifies a discoverer of things hidden.

⁴ Gen. xli, 50.

⁵ Chap. xlvii, 18.

⁶ Ver. 19.

advance his master's interest by keeping his subjects in poverty and slavery. He was desirous to establish a sufficient revenue for the occasions of the crown; and at the same time to give the subjects a property of their own, as well to excite their industry to improve it, as to raise in them a sense of duty and affection to the government that protected them in the secure enjoyment of it. For this reason Joseph returned back possessions to all the people, upon condition of paying yearly the fifth part of the product of their lands to the king for ever⁷. 2. When he returned the lands back again to the people, he did not put each man in possession of what was his own before; but removed them from one end of Egypt to the other⁸; wisely foreseeing, that few men would have so easy sense of their condition in the enjoyment of what had formerly been their own without tax or burden, but now received upon terms of disadvantage, as they would have in the possession of what never was their own, though they held it upon the same conditions. 3. When Joseph bought in the lands of Egypt for Pharaoh, he bought not the priests' lands, for they did eat their portion which Pharaoh gave them, and therefore sold not their lands. Therefore, when afterwards the whole kingdom came to be taxed the fifth part, the priests' lands were excepted, because they became not Pharaoh's⁹. A right honourable writer makes the following re-

⁷ Gen. xlvii, 24, 26.⁸ Ver. 21.⁹ Ver. 22, 26.

mark upon this favour shown the priests. "To what height of power the established priesthood was arrived even at that time, may be conjectured hence, that the crown (to speak in a modern style) offered not to meddle with the church lands; and that, in this great revolution, nothing was attempted so much as by way of purchase or exchange in prejudice of this landed clergy; the prime minister himself having joined his interest with theirs, and entered by marriage into this alliance¹."

To this I answer: 1. I have already shown, that the priests of Egypt were the heads of all the families of the land; not raised to be so by their priesthood, but they became the priests, because they were originally persons of the highest rank. They were reputed almost equal to the kings, consulted upon all public affairs of consequence, and some of them generally upon a vacancy succeeded to the crown; and if this be true, it does not seem likely that they should want Joseph's alliance to strengthen their interest, or to obtain them any favour. 2. Whatever favour was shown them, Moses represents it as proceeding from the king, and not from Joseph. The land of the priests bought he not (*ci chock le cohanim meeth Pharaoh*) *because there was a decree for* (in favour of) *the priests from even Pharaoh*², i. e. because Pharaoh had made a decree expressly against it. Or

¹ Lord Shaftesbury's Characterist. vol. iii, Miscel. 2.

² Gen. xlvii, 22.

we may translate the words agreeably to our English version, *because there was an appointment for the priests from even Pharaoh, and they did eat their appointed or assigned portion, which Pharaoh gave them, wherefore they sold not their lands*: take the words either way, the favour to the priests proceeded from Pharaoh. It may perhaps be here asked, why Pharaoh, when he thought fit to lessen the property of his common subjects, did not also attempt to reduce in some measure the exorbitant wealth of the priests, who, according to Diodorus Siculus³, were possessed of a third part of the whole land. To this we may answer: the Egyptian priests were obliged to provide all sacrifices, and to bear all the charges of the national religion; and religion was in these days a matter of very great expense to them, who were to supply what was requisite for the performance of the sacred offices. The numerous sacrifices, which were appointed to be offered in these times, could not be provided, nor the preparations and ceremonies in offering them performed, but at a very great charge; so great, that we find in countries where the soil was not fruitful, and consequently the people poor, they did not well know how to bear the burthen of religion; therefore Lycurgus, when he reformed the Lacedemonian state, instituted sacrifices the meanest and cheapest he could think of, that he might not make religion too expensive for his peo-

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 73.

ple⁴. Egypt was a fertile and rich country, and most probably both king and people were desirous of having the public religion appear with a suitable splendor. Now I do not find that even Aristotle could compute, that less than a fourth part of the lands of his republic could suffice for these uses⁵; and suppose we should allow them no more in Egypt, yet there would still remain a difficulty; for the priests of Egypt were the whole body of the nobility of the land. They were the king's counsellors and assistants in all affairs which concerned the public; they were joint agents with him (συνεργοι⁶) in some things; in others the king himself was to be directed and instructed by them, in which they are said to be his εισηγηται και διδασκαλοι⁷. They were the professors and cultivators of astronomy, a useful science at this time, without which even agriculture itself could not have proceeded. They were the keepers of the public registers, memoirs, and chronicles of the kingdom; in a word, under the king, they were the magistrates, and filled all the prime offices⁸. Now if we consider them in some or other of these views, we may possibly allow that Pharaoh might think they had not too much to support the stations in which they were to act: for

⁴ Plutarch. in vit. Lycurgi.

⁵ Aristot. de Republic. lib. vii, c. 10.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. ubi sup.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Δευτερευοντες μετα βασιλεα ταιστε δοξαις και ταις εξουσιαις.
Id. ibid.

which reason he ordered, that no tax should be raised upon them.

As many persons of the neighbouring nations came to Egypt to buy corn; so amongst others Jacob was obliged to send his sons from Canaan⁹. Joseph, as soon as he saw them, knew them, and upon their bowing down before him, remembered his former dreams. He kept himself for some time very reserved, pretending to suspect them for spies, and several ways seemed to use them with exceeding strictness, so as to make them think themselves in great extremity. At last he discovered himself to them, sent for his father down to Egypt, and obtained for him and his family a residence in the land of Goshen. Here they lived and flourished in favour with the king, and with the Egyptians, on Joseph's account¹.

Jacob came into Egypt A. M. 2298, for he was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Pharaoh's presence²; and he was born A. M. 2168³, so that counting one hundred and thirty years from the year of his birth, we shall come to the year above mentioned. I may here take occasion to fix the chronology of the several transactions we have passed over. 1. Joseph was about thirty-eight years old in the beginning of the famine; for he was thirty when he was first brought into Pharaoh's presence, just at the beginning of

⁹ Gen. xlii.

¹ Chap. xlii, xliii, xliv, xlv, xlvi, xlvii.

² Chap. xlvii, 9.

³ See p. 117.

the seven years of plenty⁴. He was thirty-eight two or three years before his father came into Egypt; for he revealed himself to his brethren, and sent for his father at the end of the second year's famine⁵; so that he was thirty-eight about A. M. 2295, and consequently Joseph was born A. M. 2257. 2. Joseph's birth was six years before Jacob left Laban; for Jacob served Laban in all twenty years⁶, and fourteen of the twenty years were over at Joseph's birth⁷, the time being then expired which Jacob was to serve Laban for his wives; so that Jacob left Laban A. M. 2263, and Jacob came to Laban A. M. 2243. 3. Jacob married seven years after he came to Laban⁸, *i. e.* A. M. 2250; and thus Jacob, being born A. M. 2168, was about seventy-five years old when he first came to Laban, and eighty-nine at Joseph's birth. We are not exactly informed when Benjamin was born, when Rachel died, or when Joseph was sold into Egypt; but we may conjecture very nearly, for Joseph was seventeen years old when he was feeding his father's flock with the sons of Bilhah⁹. Benjamin was not then born, for Joseph was at that time the son of his father's old age, or youngest son¹; and Rachel, who died in labour of Benjamin, was alive when Joseph dreamed his dreams, for which his brethren hated him². Ra-

⁴ Gen. xli, 46.

⁶ Chap. xxxi, 38.

⁸ Chap. xxix, 20, 21.

¹ Ver. 3.

⁵ Chap. xlv, 6.

⁷ Chap. xxx, 25, 26.

⁹ Chap. xxxvii, 2.

² Ver. 10.

chel died and Benjamin was born near Ephrath³, before Jacob came to Isaac at Hebron. Jacob did not go directly to Hebron as soon as Rachel was buried, but made some stop at Edar⁴. Jacob came to Hebron, and sent Joseph thence back to his brethren, when they took him and sold him into Egypt⁵. From these several particulars it seems most probable, that Benjamin was born, and Rachel died, when Joseph was about sixteen, A. M. 2273; for he was but seventeen when he told his father of the evil actions of his brothers at Edar⁶, where Jacob lived after Rachel died⁷. Jacob might come to Hebron in about five or six years after this, and soon after his coming thither Joseph was sold into Egypt, *i. e.* when he was about twenty-two years old, about nine years before the death of Isaac, A. M. 2279.

Seventeen⁸ years after Jacob came into Egypt, he fell sick and died. Jacob was a person in every respect very considerable: his capacity was great, his natural parts quick and ready, and the revelations which God was pleased to make him were very many, and very remarkable. It was an ar-

³ Gen. xxxv, 16, 19.

⁴ Ver. 21, 22.

⁵ Chap. xxxvii, 14.

⁶ Ver. 2.

⁷ Demetrius in Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 21, says, that Rachel died when she had lived with Jacob twenty-three years. Jacob married Rachel when he had been with Laban a week more than seven years, *i. e.* A. M. 2250. According to our computation, Rachel died twenty-three years after this, so that we agree exactly with Demetrius.

⁸ Gen. xlvii, 28.

gument of his being a person of great prudence and sagacity, that he so much prized the privileges of Esau's birth-right; and in every turn of his life (in his conduct with Laban, and his address to his brother Esau; in his sense of his sons' revenge upon the Shechemites) he showed himself a man of a quick and ready apprehension, to foresee the evils which might befall him, and of great courage and prudence to conduct himself the best way through them. The life of Isaac seems to have been the life of a plain and virtuous honest man, without any great variety or extraordinary turns in it. He had a vast substance left him by his father Abraham to carry him through the world, and he lived upon it all his life, almost always in or near the same place. Abraham died at Mamre, and there Isaac lived and died; and we do not find that he lived anywhere else, except only when a famine obliged him to remove to Gerar⁹; and Gerar was so near to Mamre, that we may affirm he spent his whole life within about the compass of a hundred or a hundred and twenty miles. But Jacob was born to greater things, and designed to be more known to the world: he had no great substance left him from his father, but was to rise by his own industry and God's blessing. He was sent into Padan-aram, to obtain himself a wife, and by his diligence to make a provision for his family; which he was enabled to do in twenty years

⁹ Gen. xxvi.

in so ample a manner, as to live afterwards in credit and reputation with the princes of his age¹; nay, and to have even those of his rank stand in fear of attempting to offer him any injury. Towards the close of his life, GOD was pleased to strip him of what I might call all his adventitious happiness, and to leave him only his children and a few necessities; for we find the pressure of the famine had dispersed his numerous family. He did not go down to Egypt master of two bands of followers², nor possessed of his Shechemitish captives; but brought thither with him, besides his sons' wives, only sixty-six persons, being his children and grandchildren, with the cattle and goods which he then had³. Yet even then, by the influence of his son Joseph, he was received in Egypt with credit and respect, and admitted into the king's presence as a person of great worth and eminence; for it is particularly remarked, that he blessed Pharaoh⁴. As the turns of Jacob's life were thus great and many, so he had very frequent and remarkable revelations to support and guide him in his passage through them. We have no mention of any revelations to Isaac above twice or thrice in his whole life, and indeed the circumstances of his life required no more; but with Jacob GOD was pleased to converse more frequently, and

¹ Gen. xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, 5.

² So numerous was his family when he left Haran. Gen. xxxii, 7.

³ Gen. xlv, 26.

⁴ Chap. xlvii, 10.

to give him a fuller knowledge of the manner in which he designed to deal with his posterity. When Isaac purposed to dispose of the blessing promised to Abraham, it is very evident that he did not know how GOD intended it should be given; for he purposed to have disposed of it to the person who was not to be the heir⁵. He did indeed by the contrivance of Rebekah happen to give it right; and when he had given it, GOD was pleased to enlighten his understanding, and in some measure to inform him what should be the circumstances of his sons and their posterity; but when Jacob came to draw towards his end, he had a much greater share of this prophetic knowledge imparted to him; he was enabled, with great exactness, to enter into the circumstances of the lives of Joseph's sons⁶; and when he came to tell his children what should befall them in the latter days⁷, he could give hints of many things which belonged particularly to the families of each of his children; as may be best seen hereafter, when we shall remark, in their proper places, how the things foretold by him were fulfilled to their posterity. As the life of Jacob was more remarkable and various than that of his father Isaac, so we find larger accounts of it amongst the heathen writers. We find but little mention of Isaac anywhere, except in the sacred writings; so little, that some of

⁵ Gen. xxvii.

⁶ Chap. xlviii, 10—22.

⁷ Chap. xlix.

the heathen historians, who inquired after the accounts of Abraham's family, did not know there was such a person as Isaac; but took Jacob or Israel to be the son of Abraham⁸; but Jacob's life was celebrated by many of their ancient writers. Eusebius⁹ gives a large account of the life of Jacob, which he took from Demetrius, and Demetrius had it from the annals of Alexander Polyhistor¹. The account agrees in the main with that of Moses; but in some little particulars differs remarkably from it. Demetrius fixes the dates and times of many transactions in Jacob's life, which Moses has not determined; and he fixes some in a manner which will not exactly agree with some other of Moses's computations; which seems to me an evidence, that he did not copy from Moses, as indeed there was no need he should. The ancient history even of these early times was written by various writers², who differed in some circumstances from one another, and therefore took their hints from different originals; and among the rest mention was made of Jacob at large by Theodotus, a very ancient historian, who wrote the Phœnician Antiquities³, and whose works Chætus translated into Greek, a part of which translation relating to Jacob is preserved in Eusebius⁴. Jacob

⁸ Justin from Trogus Pompeius, lib. xxxvi, cap. 2.

⁹ Præp. Evang. lib. ix, cap. 21.

¹ Id. ibid. ad fin. cap.

² Josephus contra Apion. lib. i, p. 1350.

³ Tatian. Orat. ad Græc. p. 128, et Joseph. ubi sup.

⁴ Præp. Evang. lib. ix, cap. 22.

was a hundred and forty-seven years old when he died, and so died A. M. 2315.

When Jacob was dead, Joseph ordered the physicians of Egypt to embalm him, the performance of which ceremony, with the circumstances belonging to it, took up forty days⁵, and the Egyptians had a solemn or public mourning for him for seventy days⁶. This circumstance expresses the greatest honour they could possibly pay to Joseph and his family; for they performed but seventy-two days mourning for their kings⁷. After the time of this mourning was over, Joseph obtained leave of Pharaoh to go into Canaan to bury his father, and the prime officers of the court of Egypt went with him to attend the funeral; so that there went out of Egypt, the house of Joseph and his brethren, and his father's house, the servants of Pharaoh, and the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, both chariots and horsemen, a very great company⁸. The procession was so great, and the solemn stop they made for seven days upon the borders of Canaan was so remarkable, that the Canaanites ever after called the place they stopped at Abel-mizraim, or the mourning-place of the Egyptians. Jacob was buried in the cave of Machpelah, beside Abraham and Sarah; and Joseph and his brethren and the Egyptians returned back again to Egypt.

⁵ Gen. 1, 3.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Diodor. Sicul. 1. i, sec. 72, p. 46.

⁸ Gen. 1, 8, 9.

After Jacob was buried, Joseph's brethren began to reflect upon the ill treatment which Joseph had formerly received from them; and to fear, that, now their father was gone, he would remember and revenge it. They came to him in the most submissive manner, acknowledged all their former unkindness to him, begged he would pass it over and forgive it, and offered themselves and children at his feet to be his servants; and not thinking all this enough, they were willing to add weight to their entreaties by telling him, that their father, before he died, required them thus to ask him pardon and forgiveness. Joseph could not keep from tears at their behaviour. He made a kind and tender apology for them, observed to them how much happiness GOD had produced from their little animosities, and promised them his favour and protection as long as he should live⁹.

We meet with nothing more of Joseph or his management. The king that advanced him was, I think, Thusimares, who was the twentieth king of Tanis, or Lower Egypt, according to Sir John Marsham; and Joseph was advanced in the thirteenth year of Thusimares's reign. Sir John Marsham places the advancement of Joseph in the time of Ramesse Tubaete, the twenty-third king of Tanis; but this position of him will appear to be too late. Joseph was sold into Egypt A. M. 2279, and

⁹ Gen. l, 15—21.

if we compute the reigns of Sir John Marsham's kings of Egypt, supposing Mizraim first to reign there A. M. 1772, and to die A. M. 1943¹; we must place Joseph about the time of the twelfth king of Tanis, in Achoreus's reign; but this will be much too high; and there are certainly mistakes in this part of Sir John Marsham's Tables. Moses hints that Joseph placed his brethren in the land of Rameses²; the land could not be so called until there had been such a person as Rameses; for the ancient practice was, after kings or famous men were dead, to *call their lands after their names*³. Thus the land of Haran was not so named until after Haran was dead⁴. Rameses, therefore, who, according to Sir John Marsham, was the eighteenth king of Tanis, and began to reign a hundred and forty-five years after Achoreus was dead, and some part of the land of Goshen, where Joseph placed his brethren, was called after his name, before Joseph brought his brethren into Egypt; and this will well agree with my placing Joseph in the reign of Thusimares, who was the second king after Rameses⁵. Thusimares reigned thirty-one years⁶, and if Joseph was advanced in the thirteenth year of his reign, Thusimares died sixty-two years before Joseph; for Joseph was thirty years old when

¹ See vol. i, book iv.

² Gen. xlvii, 11.

³ Psalm xlix, 11.

⁴ Gen. xi, 31.

⁵ See Sir John Marsham, Can. Chron.

⁶ Id. *ibid*.

Pharaoh advanced him⁷, and he lived to be a hundred and ten years old⁸, so that he lived eighty years after his advancement. Now, according to Sir John Marsham's account of the length of the reigns of Thusimares's successors, Joseph lived to serve three of them, and died in the twentieth year of the reign of Ramesse Tubaete. So that he supported his credit with four kings; an instance of the stability of courts in these times. He was highly esteemed by the princes, and universally beloved by all the people. He had advanced the crown of Egypt to a state of wealth and grandeur, to which it had been a stranger until his time; and had acquired the king a property, greater, perhaps, than any king in the world at that time enjoyed, and established upon a better foundation; for he had obliged the subjects of the land, in the manner by which he acquired it, as much as he had advanced Pharaoh by the acquisition of it; and was in truth what he styled himself, a father not only to Pharaoh⁹, but also to every one of his subjects; for by his care and provision the whole land was preserved from becoming desolate, and every one of the inhabitants preserved from perishing. Joseph lived to see his grandchildren grown up to be men', and then he called his brethren together, and assured them, that God would in due time bring them out of Egypt into the possession of the land of Ca-

⁷ Gen. xli, 46.

⁹ Chap. xlv, 8.

⁸ Chap. l, 22.

¹ Chap. l, 22, 23.

naan; and made them swear to him, that when they should go out of Egypt, they would carry away his bones with them. Joseph died fifty-two years after his father, A. M. 2367.

The children of Israel, or family of Jacob, when they came into Egypt, were about seventy persons. Jacob and his children who came with him were in number sixty-seven, and Joseph and his two sons make up the number seventy; but besides these Jacob's sons' wives came also with them². There are some difficulties in Moses's catalogue of Jacob's children. We have one catalogue in chap. xxxv, and another in chap. xlvi. In chap. xxxv, we are told the sons of Jacob were twelve, and after a particular enumeration of them it is said, *These are the sons of Jacob, which were born to him in Padan-aram*. Now it is evident that all these sons were not born in Padan-aram, for Benjamin was born near Ephrath in Canaan³. Some writers have remarked, that the expression of the Hebrew is, *which were begat by him in Padan-aram*, and they suppose, that Rachel was with child of Benjamin when Jacob left Laban, and that this was what Moses intended in this passage. But this cannot be allowed; for if the Hebrew words may possibly bear that sense⁴, yet Jacob after he came from Haran lived at Shechem and bought land there, and afterwards lived at Bethel, and removed

² Gen. xlvi, 26.

³ Chap. xxxv, 16 — 18.

⁴ The Hebrew words are, v. 26,

אלה בני יעקב אשר ילד-לו בדרך ארם

thence before Benjamin was born; so that several years passed between Jacob's leaving Padan-aram, and the birth of Benjamin. I have computed at least ten years⁵, so that Rachel could not be with child by him in Padan-aram. Other commentators⁶ think that the passage is a synecdoche; but surely this pretence is very idle. We must have an odd notion of Moses's eloquence, to suppose that he had a mind to display it in giving us the names of Jacob's twelve sons; and a still more surprising notion of his rhetoric, to make such a passage as this a figure of speech, which looks ten times more like a mistake than a synecdoche. I think it certain that Moses did not write the words *in Padan-aram* in this place; but that he ended his period with the words *which were born to him*; but that some careless or injudicious transcriber, finding the words *in Padan-aram* in Gen. xlv, 15, might add them here also, and be led into the mistake by considering, that he had twelve children born there, which is indeed true, but eleven of them only were sons; one of his children born in Padan-aram, namely Dinah, was a daughter. In the catalogue in Genesis xlv, there seems to be a deficiency: Moses begins it, *These are the names of the children of Israel, which came into Egypt, Jacob and his sons; Reuben his first born*⁷; but then he does not add the names of Jacob's other sons, which he had by Leah and Zilpah,

⁵ See p. 186.

⁶ Vid. Pool, Synop. in loc.

⁷ Gen. xlv, 8.

nor of those which he had by Bilhah; and if we cast up the number of names which are now given us, they will fall short of the number which Moses computes them to be⁸, by all the names thus omitted. I must therefore think, that all these names of Jacob's sons were inserted by Moses, but have been dropped by the carelessness of transcribers. The accounts of each family might be begun by Moses, as the first is. *Reuben, Jacob's first-born, and the sons of Reuben.* So Moses most probably wrote; Simeon, and the sons of Simeon⁹; Levi, and the sons of Levi¹; Judah, and the sons of Judah²; and so in the accounts of all the rest; and the same word being repeated might be easily dropped by a hasty writer. It is very evident, that the transcribers have been careless in these catalogues; for the children of Leah are said by mistake to be thirty-three³, whereas there are but thirty-two, and without doubt Moses computed them no more than thirty-two; for he makes the whole number of the children of Jacob that came with him into Egypt to be sixty-six⁴. Now thirty-two children of Leah, sixteen of Zilpah, eleven of Rachel (without Joseph and his two sons), and seven by Bilhah, make up exactly the number. If the children of Leah had been thirty-three, the number that came with Jacob into Egypt must have been sixty-seven, as may be seen by any one

⁸ Gen. xlvii, 26.

¹ Ver. 11.

³ Ver. 15.

⁹ Ver. 10.

² Ver. 12.

⁴ Ver. 26.

who will put together the several persons named in the catalogue. *All the souls of the house of Jacob which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten*⁵; i. e. sixty-six as above mentioned, and Jacob himself, and Joseph, and Joseph's two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh; and thus many they are always computed to be in all places where they are mentioned in Scripture⁶. The LXX indeed suppose, that there were seventy-five of Jacob's family in Egypt, when he came thither. They render the latter part of the 27th verse, *All the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, were* εβδομηκοντὶα πέντε, i. e. *seventy-five*. And thus they number them, Exodus, chap. i, ver. 5, and the number is the same in St. Stephen's speech⁷, where they are said to be *threescore and fifteen souls*. As to the Septuagint, it is evident how we come to find the number seventy-five instead of seventy in Gen. xli, 27; for, 1. In our present copies of the Septuagint, there is a very large interpolation, of which not one word is to be found in any Hebrew copy*. The LXX give us the 20th verse of this chapter thus: *And there were sons born unto Joseph in the land of Egypt, which Asenath the daughter of*

⁵ Gen. xli, 27.

⁶ Exod. i, 5; Deut. x, 22.

⁷ Acts. vii, 14.

* If this be an interpolation in the LXX, it must be very ancient; for all the MSS. of the LXX, and ancient versions taken from it, retain the passage. In some of the MSS. and versions lately collated by Dr. Holmes, there are various readings, in some a word or name is omitted; but they all retain the passage. — EDIT.

Potipherah, priest of Heliopolis, bare unto him, Manasseh and Ephraim. After these words they add, And there were born sons unto Manasseh, which Syra, his concubine, bare unto him, Machir; and Machir begat Gulaad; and the sons of Ephraim the brother of Manasseh were Sutalam and Taam, and the sons of Sutalam were Edom. And thus our present editions of the Septuagint compute seventy-five persons instead of seventy, by taking into the account five sons and grandsons of Ephraim and Manasseh, which are not in the Hebrew. 2. But these five persons were evidently not put into this catalogue by Moses; for the design of this catalogue was to give the names of the persons of Jacob's family, who came with him into Egypt, or who were there at the time when he came thither; but Ephraim and Manasseh could have no children born at this time, therefore their children's names cannot be supposed to be inserted by Moses in this place. Joseph was about thirty years old when he married^s, and he was about forty or forty-one when Jacob came into Egypt: so that Manasseh, who was his elder son, could not be much above ten years old; and therefore it is an evident mistake in our present Septuagint copies to insert Joseph's grandchildren, and their children, in this place. 3. It is not very difficult to guess how these additions were made to the LXX. I call them additions, for no one can suppose that the first translators

^s Gen. xli, 45, 46.

of the Hebrew bible into Greek, could so palpably and erroneously deviate from the original. The owners of ancient manuscripts used frequently to make marginal references, observations, or notes in their manuscripts; and very probably some learned person might collect from Numbers xxvi, and 1 Chron. vii, that Manasseh and Ephraim had these sons and grandsons, and remark it in the margin of his manuscript Septuagint, and some transcribers from that manuscript might mistake the design, think it put there as an omission of the copyist, and so take it into the text; and by degrees, this accident happening very early, when there were but few copies of the LXX taken, all subsequent transcripts came to be corrupted by it.

4. As to the 14th verse of chap. vii, of the Acts, I cannot conceive that St. Luke wrote threescore and fifteen souls; but it being pretty certain, that transcribers in the first ages of Christianity did sometimes make such small alterations as these, to make the New Testament accord with the copies they then had of the LXX bible (the LXX being more read by the Christians of the first ages, than the Hebrew Scriptures), it seems most reasonable to suppose, that the finding seventy-five and not seventy in the xlvith chapter of Genesis, and Exodus i, might alter the ancient reading of this passage in St. Stephen's speech, to make it accord with the LXX in the places referred to.

5. That the number seventy-five instead of seventy came into the Septuagint copies in the manner above

mentioned, might be confirmed from Josephus, who computes but seventy of Jacob's family in Egypt at this time, agreeing with the Hebrew⁹, and perhaps even from the LXX translation itself; for that very translation says in another place expressly, that they were but seventy persons¹, agreeing fully with the Hebrew, which may hint to us that the true ancient reading of the LXX itself was seventy, and not seventy-five. There is one difficulty more, which ought not to be passed over: in Genesis xlv, 12, we are told that Er and Onan, the sons of Judah, died in the land of Canaan, and Hezron and Hamul, the sons of Pharez, are inserted in the catalogue of Jacob's family that came with him into Egypt. Jacob married about A. M. 2250. Judah was Jacob's fourth son, and might be born about A. M. 2254. Jacob came into Egypt A. M. 2298, so that Judah was at this time about forty-four years of age; but if he was no older, how could Hezron and Hamul, Judah's grand-children by his son Pharez, be born at this time? We cannot suppose that Judah married Shuah² before he was twenty, we cannot well suppose it so early; he must be at least twenty-one

⁹ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 7. Ita in omnibus Josephi exemplaribus tum hic, tum c. ix, sec. 3, nec aliter ejus Exscriptores, P. Comestor, Epitomator Cantuar. aliique. Hudson not. in loc.

¹ Deut. x, 22. It must be acknowledged, that the Alexandrian MS. has in this place *εβδομηκοντα περιε*. The word *περιε* might be inserted to correct a supposed fault of other MSS.

² Gen. xxxviii, 2.

when his son Er was born, about twenty-two at Onan's birth, and twenty-three at the birth of Shelah³; and if he took a wife for his son Er when Er was seventeen, then Judah was thirty-eight when Er married. Er died soon after he married; and Onan took his wife, and Onan died also; and Judah desired Tamar his daughter-in-law to remain a widow until Shelah his son should be grown⁴. Tamar did so; but when Shelah was grown, and she was not given unto him to wife, Tamar dressed herself like a harlot, and Judah, not knowing her to be his daughter-in-law, lay with her, and she had two children by him, Pharez and Zarah⁵. Judah could not be less than forty-one or forty-two when he lay with Tamar, and Pharez could not be above two or three years old when Jacob came into Egypt; so that it is impossible that Pharez should have any children born at this time. The most learned archbishop Usher seems to think that Jacob married, and consequently that Judah was born, earlier than I have supposed. He intimates from Gen. xxix, 21, that Jacob might perhaps marry soon after he came to Laban; but the place cited does surely prove, that he served Laban seven years, and then said, *give me my wife, for my days are fulfilled*, i. e. the time is now expired which I agreed to serve for her⁶; but if we should even suppose that Jacob married when he first entered Laban's service,

³ Gen. xxxviii, 3, 4, 5.

⁴ Ver. 6 — 11.

⁵ Ver. 14 — 30.

⁶ Gen. xxix. See ver. 20, 21.

this will help us but to seven years, and can make Pharez not above ten years old when Jacob came into Egypt, so that Pharez still could have no children at this time. It must be confessed, that all the versions agree exactly in this verse, and it appears to be fact that Er and Onan died in Canaan⁷. Mistakes in numbers are easily made by even careful transcribers. I am not sensible, that it is of any moment to suppose, that Jacob and his descendants, when they came into Egypt, were exactly seventy. Why may we not suppose, that Moses computed them but threescore and eight, and that the number ten is a corruption of the text, and the names Hezron and Hamul, the sons of Pharez, an interpolation? If I may not take the liberty to make this correction of the text, I must freely acknowledge, that I do not see how to clear the difficulty I have mentioned, but must leave it to the learned⁸, as I entirely submit to them what

⁷ Gen. xxxviii.

⁸ I ought not to omit taking notice, that the most learned archbishop Usher has left something in a posthumous work of his, which may perhaps be thought to solve this difficulty. This most learned writer supposes, that Judah was born A. M. 2247, and married when nineteen years old, A. M. 2266; that his son Er was born within that year; that Onan was born A. M. 2267; Shelah 2268; that Er married when he was fifteen, *i. e.* A. M. 2281; that Onan married within the same year; that Shelah was grown, *i. e.* was about fifteen, A. M. 2282; that Judah lay with Tamar A. M. 2283; that Pharez and Zara were born at the end of this year; that Pharez was fifteen, and married, and had twins, Hezron and Hamul, at a time, and in the year 2298, to have the children carried with Jacob into Egypt in that year. Here is certainly every thing offered that

I have attempted to conjecture about it. The children of Israel flourished in Egypt, and were protected and favoured by its kings on Joseph's account, until the government of Egypt was overthrown in the following manner.

In the fifth year of Concharis, whom Josephus from Manetho calls Timœus⁹, and who, according to Syncellus, was the twenty-fifth king of the land of Tanis, or Lower Egypt, there came a numerous army of unknown people, who invaded Egypt on a sudden, overran both the Upper and the Lower Egypt, fired houses and cities, killed the inhabitants, and made a terrible devastation over all the land; and having in a little time subdued all before them, they made one of their leaders their king, whose name was Salatis. Salatis, being made king, laid the land under tribute, made the ancient inhabitants of Egypt his slaves, garrisoned such towns as he thought proper all over the country, established himself upon the throne, and settled his people in the land. Whence Salatis and his followers came is only to be conjectured. They called themselves the pastors, or shepherds; they took particular care to fortify the eastern parts of Egypt, and seemed most afraid of a disturbance from that quarter. The government of Egypt being thus subverted, the protection and happiness which the

can possibly be supposed, and whether nothing more than can reasonably be allowed, I must refer to the reader's consideration. See Usher's Chronol. Sacra, c. 10, p. 170.

⁹ Josephus contra Apion. lib. i.

Israelites enjoyed perished with it. Salatis knew nothing of Joseph, nor did he regard any establishment which Joseph had settled. He made his way into Egypt with his sword, and he brought his people into the land by conquest, in such a manner and upon such terms as he thought fit. The Israelites were a rich and increasing people, inhabiting the very parts which he thought proper to take the greatest care of, and he readily suspected, that if any invasion should happen from the East they would join against them¹. He therefore took a particular care to keep them low.

That this king, who oppressed the Israelites, was not an Egyptian, but some foreigner, who with his forces had overrun the country, seems very evident from the appellations which Moses gives him. *He was a new king, and knew not Joseph*²; both which hints strongly intimate that he was a foreigner; the word *new* is frequently used in this sense; new gods³ are strange or foreign gods; and had he been an Egyptian he must have known Joseph, for he came to reign not long after Joseph was dead, and his brethren, and that generation⁴; and it is impossible that the kings of Egypt could in so short a time have forgotten Joseph. Some writers have endeavoured to determine whence this new king and people came. Cardinal Cajetan says they were Assyrians, which he collects from Isaiah⁵.

¹ Exodus i, 10.

² Ver. 8.

³ Deut. xxxii, 16, 17; Judges v, 8.

Exod. i, 6.

⁵ Isaiah lii, 4.

The words of the prophet are, *Thus saith the LORD, my people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there, and the Assyrian oppressed them without cause.* If the Hebrew words had been put in such order, as that the word *and* in this verse might be read before *there, and there the Assyrian oppressed them without cause*, the cardinal's opinion founded upon this passage would be unquestionable: but as the verse is worded, the two parts of it seem to be two distinct sentences, and the design of it was to comfort the Jews against the prospect of the Babylonian captivity, by hinting to them their former deliverance out of the Egyptian bondage. *My people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there, and now the Assyrian is about oppressing them without cause: Now therefore* (as it follows) *what have I here, saith the LORD, that my people is taken away for nought?—therefore my people shall know my name—when the LORD shall bring again Zion*⁶. The whole design of this passage, with what follows, was intended to hint to the Israelites that God would certainly bring them out of the Babylonian captivity⁷; and the cardinal's conjecture cannot be at all supported by it. Africanus says, that these pastors who overran Egypt were Phœnicians⁸; but hints, that some other writers thought them to be Arabians. These two opinions are not so widely different as they seem to be; for Africanus hints, that his Phœnicians came

⁶ Isaiah lii, 5, 6, 7, 8.

⁷ See Pool's Synopsis, in loc.

⁸ Syncell. Chronograph. p. 61.

out of the eastern parts (*ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερῶν*), and the ancients did not accurately distinguish, but often called the whole land of Canaan, with the countries adjacent, by the name of Phœnicia. It is indeed true, that the Arabians are situate rather southward than eastward, and I do not think that these pastors came out of that country. The most probable conjecture that I can make about them is, that they were the Horites, whom the children of Esau drove out of their own land⁹. These Horites were a people who lived by pasturage, and were expelled their country much about this time. Their passage into Egypt was almost directly from the East, and they had great reason to fortify the eastern parts of Egypt, very probably apprehending, that the enemy who had dispossessed them of their own country might take occasion to follow them thither. It may seem unaccountable, that a number of unsettled people should be able to seize upon and overturn the government of a large, a wise, and well-established kingdom. But this will not appear so surprising, if we consider the state of kingdoms in these ages. Thucydides's observation concerning the ancient states of Greece might be applied to all the kingdoms of the world in the early ages¹. Kings had not so firm and secure a possession of their thrones, nor yet the people of the countries they inhabited, as we are apt to think from a judgment formed

⁹ Deut. ii, 12, 22.

¹ Thucyd. lib. i.

from the present state of the world. As there was but little traffic stirring in these times, so distant kingdoms had little or no acquaintance with one another; nor did they know of designs formed against themselves until they came to feel them. When the Israelites went out of Egypt, and were come into the wilderness, they exercised and formed their discipline and government for forty years together; and though they were exceedingly numerous, yet no great notice was taken of them, by any of the nations which lay near them, until they were ready to attack them. Where could such a body of people get together now in the world, and not have an alliance of all the neighbouring kingdoms ready to require an account of their designs? But in these early days,

Mollia securæ peragebant otia gentes.—OVID.

Kings apprehended no foreign attacks, until the armies, which came to conquer them, were at their doors; and so their kingdoms were more easily overran by them. Egypt was a very flourishing kingdom, but not famous for war. We do not read of any exercise this way, or any trial of their arms, from the days of their first king to this time; so that these Horites (if they were indeed the Horites) might easily conquer them, and gain themselves a settlement in their kingdom; as the Arcadians did in Thrace; the Pelasgi and afterwards the Trojans did in Italy; nay, and in much later

days the Franconians issued out of their own country in this manner in armed multitudes, and conquered France, and set up there that government, to which that kingdom is now subject². The time when these pastors thus overran Egypt, may be pretty well determined in the following manner.

1. It was before Moses was born; for the new king of Egypt had taken several measures to oppress the Israelites before the time of Moses' birth³, and Moses was born A. M. 2433. 2. It was after Levi's death, for Joseph died and all his brethren before this new king arose, that knew not Joseph⁴; and Levi lived to be one hundred and thirty-seven years old⁵, and so being born about A. M. 2253⁶, he died A. M. 2390. 3. It was some years after Levi's death, for not only Joseph and his brethren were dead, but all that generation. Benjamin was born twenty years after Levi, and therefore we may suppose that he, or at least some of that generation, lived so long after Levi's death, *i. e.* to A. M. 2410, so that it was after that year and before the year of Moses's birth 2433, perhaps about the year 2420. Now this account will place it much about the same time that the Horites were expelled Seir by the children of Esau: for they were expelled by Esau's grandchildren of the families of his younger sons Renel and Aliphaz, and these pastors came to

² Davila's History of the Civil Wars of France, book i.

³ Exod. i.

⁴ Ver. 6.

⁵ Chap. vi, 16.

⁶ Levi was Jacob's third son. Jacob married A. M. 2250. Levi might be born about three years after Jacob married.

Egypt in the time of Jacob's grandchildren by his younger sons, their fathers being all dead. If we determine the pastors' coming into Egypt about the year 2420 above-mentioned, and in the fifth year of the reign of Concharis, we may count backwards one hundred and thirty-three years, in Sir John Marsham's list of the kings of Tanis, for so many years passed between Joseph's advancement and A. M. 2420, and so determine who the king was, and in what year of his reign he advanced Joseph. Now, according to this account, Joseph was advanced by Thusimares the twentieth king of Tanis, and in the thirteenth year of Thusimares's reign, as I have before supposed.

The pastors and their king took particular care to keep the Israelites low. He made them his slaves, employed them in building store-houses and walls for Abaris⁷, which was afterwards called Pelusium, or, according to Moses, Pithom, and for Raamses⁸, and in making brick, and in other laborious services; and considering that they increased exceedingly in numbers, he ordered the midwives to kill every male child who should be born of any of them⁹. The midwives did not execute his orders, therefore he thought of another way to destroy them, and charged all his people to have every male child, who was born to the Israelites, thrown into the river¹.

⁷ Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 105, sec. 8; Josephus cont. Apion, lib. i, sec. 14; Eusebius Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 12.

⁸ Exod. i, 11.

⁹ Ver. 16.

¹ Ver. 22.

There is a difficulty in the account, which Moses gives in this place of the midwives: *It came to pass, because the midwives feared God, that he made them houses*². Can we suppose that God raised houses for the midwives miraculously? or could the Israelites, oppressed in slavery, show so great gratitude as to build them any? or if they could, dare they venture to requite them so publicly, for refusing to act as the king ordered them? If I may take a liberty of guessing, I should think that Moses did not mean in this place that houses were built for the midwives, but for the Israelites. It will be queried who was the builder? Why should God upon the case here before us build the Israelites' houses? I answer; it was not God built the houses here spoken of, but Pharaoh. The case was this: Pharaoh had charged the midwives to kill the male children that were born of the Hebrew women: the midwives feared God, and omitted to do as the king had commanded, pretending in excuse for their omission, that the Hebrew women were generally delivered before they could get to them³. Pharaoh hereupon resolving to prevent their increase, gave a charge to his people to have all the male children of the Hebrews thrown into the river; but this command could not be strictly executed, whilst the Israelites lived up and down in the fields in tents, which was their ancient and customary way of living, for they

² Exod. i, 21.

³ Ver. 19.

would shift here and there, 'and lodge the women in child-bed out of the way to save their children. Pharaoh therefore built them houses, and obliged them to a more settled habitation, that the people he had set over them might know where to find every family, and take account of all the children that should be born. This was a very cunning contrivance of Pharaoh, in order to have his charge more strictly and effectually executed than it could otherwise have been ; and was a remarkable particular not to be omitted in Moses's account of this affair. But as to houses built for the midwives, it seems impossible to give any account why they should be built, or how, or by whom. It will here be asked, but how can the words of Moses be reconciled to what I have offered ? I answer, if they be faithfully translated, they can bear no other meaning whatsoever ; which will be very evident from the following translation of the place, which is word for word agreeable to the Hebrew ; and which I have distinguished into verses, as I think the passage ought really to have been distinguished.

Verse 18. *And the king of Egypt called for the midwives, and said unto them, Why have ye done this thing, and saved alive the children ?*

Ver. 19. *And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women, for they are lively, and are delivered before the midwife comes to them.*

Ver. 20. *And God dealt well with the mid-*

wives. *And the people multiplied and waxed very mighty* : (וַיִּבְרַח vejehi, i. e.) *And this happened* (or was so, or came to pass) *because the midwives feared God.*

⁴ Ver. 21. *And Pharaoh built them* (i. e. the Israelites) *houses, and charged all his people saying, and every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, every daughter ye shall save alive.*

Thus, if I may take the liberty to suppose the passage not rightly pointed as to the stops, which were the ancient marks at the end of verses⁵, the words may well be rendered as I would take them. The division of the Hebrew Bible into verses is certainly very ancient, but not earlier than the captivity⁶; and I do not find, that the best writers suppose the sections were made by an unerring hand. I think the verses of which I am treating, have been divided, as they now are, injudiciously by some careless transcriber; but it is evident, that they were thus parted before the LXX translation was made, for the LXX render the 21st verse thus; Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφοβήθη αἱ μαιαὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐποίησαν αὐταῖς οἰκίας. *And because the midwives feared God, they made themselves houses.* And hence it is evi-

⁴ The Hebrew words are,

וַיַּעַשׂ לָהֶם בָּתִּים וַיִּצַּו פַּרְעֹה לְכָל עַמּוֹ

suo populo omni Pharaoh præcepit et domos illis fecit et

Our English translators should have considered that the nominative case to two verbs is commonly put after the second verb, in other languages, though our English will not admit of it.

See Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, book γ.

⁶ Id. ibid.

dent that the LXX found a difficulty in the verse, and thought it absurd to say that God built the midwives houses, and so turned the expression another way; but their version cannot be right, for the Hebrew words are not *they*, but *he built*, and in the original *la hem*, signifies *for them*, and not *for themselves*. I do not at present see any way to give a clear account of the place so easy, as to suppose the punctuation wrong, as I have imagined. Some of the commentators have indeed offered a conjecture, at first sight very promising, to explain the expression as it now stands. They would take the words *made them houses*, metaphorically, and say that they mean, either that God gave the midwives many children, or that he made them prosperous in their affairs. The former of these interpretations is that of St. Ambrose; and it is said that the expression is thus used, Gen. xvi, 2, xxx, 3; Deut. xxv, 9; Ruth iv, 11; but in this point these interpreters make a great mistake; the expression before us is *nashah beith*, but the expression in the passages cited is a very different one, it is *banah beith*, and not *nashah*. Had the expression here before us been, *banah beithim lahem*, it might have signified, *GOD built up their houses or families, by making them numerous*; but *nashah beithim lahem*, are words of a very different meaning. But in the second place, it is said, that, *nashah beithim*, signifies, that *GOD prospered them, or provided for them*, and Gen. xxx, 30 is cited to justify this interpretation. The words in that pas-

sage are, *And now, when shall I make or provide for my own house also?* But here again the instance fails: the expression cited is not *nashah beith*, but it is *nashah le beith*, not, *when shall I make my house?* but, *when shall I make for my house, or, when shall I do for my house?* between which two expressions there is evidently a difference,

*first half to be gotten last half
not worthy the latter 1840.
If you are busy, you had better
omit the whole of this book -*

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD

CONNECTED.

BOOK VIII.

SALATIS, the new king of Egypt, not only oppressed the Israelites, but, by the violence of his conquests¹, so terrified the ancient inhabitants of the land, that many persons of the first figure thought it better to leave their native country, than to sit down under the calamities which they feared might be brought upon them; from whence it happened, that several companies made the best way they could out of Egypt, in hopes of gaining a happier settlement for themselves in some foreign country. Ister, a writer cited by Eusebius², and by Clemens Alexandrinus³, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes⁴, wrote a

¹ Josephus cont. Apion, l. i, sec. 14, p. 1337.

² Præp. Evang. lib. iv, c. 16.

³ Stromat. lib. i, sec. 21; and l. iii, sec. 6.

⁴ Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 107.

particular account of the colonies which removed out of Egypt into other nations. His work would, perhaps, have been very serviceable in this place; but this and other performances of Ister are long since lost. However, Diodorus Siculus has particularly remarked, that Egypt sent many colonies into divers parts of the world⁵; and we may collect from him, and from hints of other ancient writers, that Cecrops, Erichthonius, and the father of Cadmus, left Egypt about the time we are treating of; and Danaus and Belus followed them not long after.

Belus was the son of Neptune. Who this Neptune was we are not informed; but it seems to be an Egyptian name; for the Egyptians called the shores which the sea waves beat upon, Nepthun⁶. Most probably the person called by this name was an inventor of shipping, and from thence came to be called the god of the sea; and this tradition of him was embraced by the Cretans⁷. Herodotus observes, that he had divine honours paid him in a country adjacent to Egypt⁸, where his wife seems to have lived⁹; and where perhaps he might go to live, when his son Belus left Egypt. But because he died not in Egypt, or because he lived in these troublesome times, when the natives of Egypt were under a foreign power, which had invaded them,

⁵ Lib. i, sec. 28, p. 24.

⁶ Plutarch. in Iside et Osiride, p. 366.

⁷ Diodor. Sic. lib. v, sec. 69, p. 337.

⁸ Lib. ii, c. 50.

⁹ His wife was called Αἰγυγί, Diodor. lib. i, sec. 28, p. 24.

his name was not recorded among the great and eminent Egyptian ancients; therefore, though in after-ages he was worshipped in many foreign countries, yet he never was reputed a deity by the Egyptians¹. His son Belus went to Babylon, and carried with him some of the Egyptian priests, and obtained leave for them to settle and cultivate their studies, in the same manner, and with the encouragement and protection with which they had been favoured in their own country². If we consider the studies in which these Egyptians were engaged, it will be easy to account for their meeting with so favourable a reception at Babylon. They employed themselves in astronomy, and making observations on the stars³; and the Babylonians had been promoters and encouragers of this study above seven hundred years before these men came among them, and continued to cultivate and cherish these arts for above eleven hundred years after⁴. These Egyptians were probably very able to put the Babylonians into a better method of prosecuting these studies, than they were before masters of; for though the Babylonians began to make astronomical observations sooner than any other nation in the world, yet the Egyptians seem to have been more happy in these studies than they; for the first correction in the length of the year was made in Egypt⁵, and before

¹ Herodotus, lib. ii, c. 50.

² Diodor. lib. i, sec. 70, p. 24.

³ Id. *ibid*.

⁴ See vol. i, b. iv, p. 173.

⁵ Pref. vol. i.

the Babylonians were able to attempt it. We may conjecture what this Belus might probably teach the Babylonians, in order to improve their astronomical observations. The chief aim of the ancient astronomers was to observe the times of the rising and setting of the stars; and the first, and most proper places they could think of to make their observations in, were very large and open plains⁶, where they could have an extensive view of the horizon without interruption; and such plains as these were observatories for many generations. But the Egyptians had, about three hundred years before the time of this Belus⁷, thought of a method to improve these views; namely, by building their pyramids, on the tops of which they might take their prospects with still greater advantage. Belus taught the Babylonians the use of these structures; and, perhaps, projected for them that lofty tower, which conveyed the name of Belus down to future ages. The most learned Dean Prideaux remarks of this tower, that it was more ancient than the temple, which was afterwards built round it, and that it was certainly built many ages⁸ before Nebuchadnezzar; according to which account it will be more ancient than his reign, by almost a thousand years. Bochart as-

⁶ Της χωρας αυτοις συνεργειας προς το τηλαυγερον οραντας επιτολας και δυσεις των αστρων. Diodor. l. i, sec. 50, p. 46.

⁷ The largest pyramid was built by Syphis. See vol. i, book v.

⁸ Connect. vol. i, book ii.

serts that it had been the very same tower which was built in this country at the confusion of tongues⁹; but this cannot well be supposed, for that certainly was a mountainous heap raised with no great art, by a multitude of untaught and unexperienced builders, who had no farther aim than to raise a monument of their vanity¹; but this was a nice piece of workmanship, more like the production of a more improved age, and was a building well contrived and fitted for various uses. I might add farther, that this tower was finished, but the former never was; so that at most this could only be raised upon the ruins and foundations of that, and must have been the work of later builders. The tower of Belus seems to have been a great improvement of the Egyptian pyramids; for the tower was contrived to answer all the useful purposes of the largest pyramids, and in a better manner. It was raised to a much greater height², and had a more commodious space at top, and more useful and larger apartments within, and yet was a less bulky building, and raised upon far narrower foundations. In its outward form, it looked so like a pyramid to them that viewed it at a little distance, that it has been mistaken for one; and Strabo expressly calls it a pyramid in the account he gives of it³. Upon these accounts, I suppose it was projected by one well acquainted

⁹ Phaleg. part i, lib. i, c. 9.

¹ See vol. i, book ii, p, 94.

² Dr. Prideaux, ubi sup.

³ Lib. xvi.

with the Egyptian pyramid, and its defects; who therefore was able to design a structure that might exceed it; and I cannot say to whom we can ascribe it with so great a show of probability as to the Belus we are speaking of. It is not probable that the Egyptian name of this man was Belus; for Bel or Belus is an Assyrian, and not an Egyptian name; but it is remarkable that all sorts of persons had new names given them, whenever they were well received in foreign countries. Pharaoh, king of Egypt, called Joseph Zaphnah-Paaneah⁴; and the prince of the eunuchs gave new names to Daniel and his companions, when they were appointed to be taken care of, and prepared for public employments in the court of Babylon⁵. Now what name more proper, or more honorary than this, could they give this Egyptian, who was eminent in a science, of which one of their first kings of this name was the famous and first professor? It is even now a known figure of speech to call an excellent orator a Cicero, a poet a Homer, an eminent and virtuous legislator Lycurgus, a soldier Achilles or Hector. With the ancients in the first times, it was their common usage; and thus Agathodæmon⁶, was called Thyoth or Thoth in Egypt, because he was the reviver or restorer of those parts of learning which a son of Mizraim of that name first planted there, many ages before

⁴ Gen. xli, 45.

⁵ Dan. i, 7.

⁶ See vol. i, book i, p. 42. Sir John Marsham's Can. Chron. p. 231; Euseb. in Chron.

this second Thyoth was born. And thus the Babylonians named the person we are speaking of Belus, because he was a great and remarkable improver of that astronomy of which Belus, the second king of Babylon, was the celebrated author. Sir John Marsham seems to think that the Belus we are speaking of, and the king of Babylon of that name, were but one and the same person⁷; and he imagines that he was Arius the fourth king after Ninus; and endeavours to support his opinion by a passage from Cedrenus⁸, who says “That after Ninus, Thurus reigned over the Assyrians; that his father Zames called him Ares; that the Assyrians set up the first pillar to this Ares, and worshipped him as a god, naming him Baal.” In which opinion of Cedrenus there are these mistakes.

1. Ares here spoken of, to whom the Assyrians set up the first pillar, was not a deified king or hero, but a name of the star Mars; for the Babylonians worshipped in the first days of their idolatry the luminaries of Heaven, and did indeed set up a pillar to that particular planet⁹. They did not call this particular deity Baal, but Adar or Azar¹. Baal was their name for the Sun. 3. It was not until many ages after, that they worshipped their kings. Gesner very judiciously remarks, that the Assyrians deified Belus, *i. e.* the king of that

⁷ Can. Chron. p. 32, 107.

⁸ Cedren. p. 16; Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 32.

⁹ See vol. i, book v.

¹ See vol. i, book v.

name, about A. M. 3185², and they cannot be supposed to have deified him sooner. For they were not descended so low in their idolatry as to worship images until after A. M. 3274, which is the twelfth or thirteenth year of Ahaz, and about the time when the men of Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim were brought to live in Samaria³, and it is very probable, that when they had deified their kings and heroes, image-worship was introduced soon after. These mistakes of Cedrenus were most probably occasioned by the planet Mars and the king Ares bearing the same name. But omitting to remark that the names we now have of these early Assyrian kings are exotic names, and not Assyrian; and that the persons intended by them were not so called in their own countries, nor until they came to be mentioned in foreign languages, out of which most of these names are evidently taken; and supposing that this Arius had an Assyrian name, as agreeable to the Assyrian name for Mars, as Arius or Ares is to *Αρης*, the Greek one; yet the time he lived in should have been considered, and the customs of it. The Assyrians worshipped in these days the luminaries of Heaven; but in order to do their kings honour they called them by the names of their gods. So they called one of them Bel, Baal, or Belus, another, perhaps, Adar, another Nebo, another Gad, and in time they put two or three of these names

* Not. ad Tatian. ed. Worth. Oxon. p. 126.

³ Vol i, book v; Archbishop Usher's Annals.

together⁴, and this was their way of *putting the names of their gods upon them*⁵. But it cannot be concluded from their kings bearing these names, that they worshipped their kings; rather these names of their kings lead us to the knowledge of the gods, which they served. Sir John Marsham observes, that Pausanias hints, that the Babylonian Belus had his name from an Egyptian so called. The passage in Pausanias is this: he relates that “Mantichus built a temple for the Messenians, which he dedicated to Hercules; and that they called the god Hercules Mantichus, as they called the African deity Ammon, and the Babylonian Belus; the one being named from Belus, an Egyptian, the son of Libya, the other from a shepherd, who founded the temple⁶.” Now from this passage of Pausanias, it can in no wise be concluded, that the Babylonians had had no king named Belus, until this Egyptian Belus came amongst them; but the true inferences from it are these. 1. That deities had commonly a cognomen, or additional name, from the founders of their temples. 2. That the Egyptian Belus founded the temple of Belus at Babylon. This last proposition is indeed not true; for there were no temples in the world so early as the days even of this second Belus; men at this time worshipping either in groves, or at their altars in the open air. However, Pausanias might find reason to think that this Belus built the

⁴ Vol. i, book v.

⁵ Numb. vi, 27.

⁶ In Messeniæ.

tower which was called by his name ; and he might not separate the tower from the temple, which, the most learned Dean Prideaux observes⁷, was not built at the same time. Therefore all that can be concluded from Pausanias is, that an Egyptian built the tower of Belus at Babylon, and this I believe is true ; but this Belus was not so called when he lived in Egypt, but had the honour of that name given him by the Assyrians, in memory of a celebrated king so called by them, who was famous for the astronomical learning, which this Egyptian professed. Upon the whole, that the successor of Nimrod, and predecessor of Ninus the second king of Babylon, was called Bel or Belus, we are assured by Africanus and Eusebius⁸; and Africanus remarks, that the most celebrated historians concurred in it. That there was an Egyptian who led a colony to Babylon, and was there called Belus, we are assured by Diodorus, which is also hinted by Pausanias in the passage above cited. That this Belus did not come to Babylon before the time we are treating of, seems probable, because we have no reason to think that Egypt sent out any colonies until these days ; and farther, from his being said to build the tower of Belus, which cannot well be supposed to have been built until after the largest Egyptian pyramid ; and that he came to Babylon about these times seems farther probable from his living about the time that

⁷ Ubi sup.

⁸ In Chronic. Euseb.

ships were invented. For it is said, his father Neptune was the inventor of ships⁹; and that they were invented about these times appears from what is recorded of Danaus, who was contemporary with this Belus, that he made the first ship, and fled with it from Egypt¹; his ship, says Pliny², was called the first ship, because until his time men used only smaller boats or vessels. Such ships as those of Danaus were a new thing in these days; and therefore Nephtun the Egyptian was the inventor of them, and consequently his son Belus lived about this time. Thus I have endeavoured to clear the history of these two Belus's, which some learned writers have been fond of perplexing. Belus was the father of Danaus³; and as it will appear that Danaus came to Greece A. M. 2494, so it is probable that Belus went to Babylon about the same time.

Cecrops left Egypt many years sooner than the time when Belus went to Babylon; and after some years' travels came into Greece, and lived in Attica. He was well received there by Actæus, who was at that time king of the country, and from whom the country was named Attica⁴; and some time after he married the daughter of Actæus; and when

⁹ Diodor. sup. cit.

¹ Apollodor. lib. ii, p. 63; Marm. Arundel. Ep. 9.

² Lib. vii, c. 56.

³ Prideaux, Annotat. ad Chron. Marm. p. 156.

⁴ Marm. Arundel. Ep. 1; see Prideaux, Annotat. in Chron. Marm. p. 91.

Actæus died succeeded him in his kingdom⁵. The time when Cecrops became king of Attica, may be determined from the Parian Chronicon, which records that Cecrops reigned at Athens one thousand three hundred and eighteen years before that chronicle was composed⁶. Now supposing the Chronicon composed A. M. 3741⁷, it will fix the beginning of Cecrops's reign to A. M. 2423. Eusebius is thought to differ from this account⁸, twenty-six years says Selden, and Lydiat from him⁹; I think he seems to differ forty-four; for Eusebius's Chronicon begins the reign of Cecrops ninety-nine or a hundred years after the death of Joseph¹, and consequently must begin it about A. M. 2467². Lydiat has attempted to reconcile this difference, but I doubt the reader will find little to his satisfaction in what he has offered. I hope that we may have liberty to cut knots of this sort, instead of trying to untie them. However, since all the ancient Greek chronology must depend upon our fixing this period; I will endeavour to lay before the reader the whole of what the ancient writers offer about it, and then he may the better form a judgment of it. And,

1. Castor endeavours to fix the time of Cecrops's reign, in his list or account of the kings of Sicyon³.

⁵ Pausanias in Atticis.

⁶ Ep. Marm. 1.

⁷ Archbishop Usher's Chron.

⁸ Chronic.

⁹ Lydiat. Annotat. ad Chron. Marm. p. 13.

¹ Num. Euseb. in Chronic. 460.

² Book vii.

³ Eusebii *Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ.* p. 19.

He tells us that Ægialeus was the first king of Sicyon, that he reigned fifty-two years, and began his reign about the fifteenth year of Belus the first king of Babylon ; so that we may fix the first year of Ægialeus to A. M. 1920, Belus beginning his reign A. M. 1905⁴. Castor proceeds and gives us the reigns of twelve kings who succeeded Ægialeus, with the particular lengths of each of their reigns ; and all of them together, including the reign of Ægialeus with them, amounting to five hundred and sixty years, ending at the death of Marathonius, and will bring us to A. M. 2480. Castor remarks after Marathonius's name, *Κατα τῆτον πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ἀττικῆς Κεκροψ ὁ διφυής*, that in his time Cecrops began to reign in Attica. Now Marathonius reigned but thirty years, so that, placing the first year of Cecrops very early in his reign (Eusebius places it in the third year)⁵, we must fix the first year of Cecrops, according to this account, about A. M. 2450 or 2452. I would do Castor the justice to remark, that this account of these times seems well adjusted in another particular. After Messapus he remarks, that in his time Joseph was made governor of Egypt ; and Messapus according to his account began to reign A. M. 2246, and reigned forty-seven years ; and Joseph was advanced A. M. 2287⁶, *i. e.* in the forty-first year of Messapus.

2. We may collect the time of Cecrops from an-

⁴ See vol. i, book iv, p. 161.

⁵ In *Χρονικ. Κατ.*

⁶ See book vii, p. 193.

other account of the same chronologer. We have his list of the Argive kings, from Inachus the first king of that country⁷: he says that Inachus began his reign about the time of Thurimachus the seventh king of Sicyon. Now if we calculate, we shall find that Thurimachus began his reign about A. M. 3148; for Castor places him two hundred and twenty-eight years later than the first year of Ægialeus. And supposing Inachus to begin his reign near as soon as Thurimachus; in Thurimachus's sixth year, according to Eusebius⁸, we shall begin Inachus's reign A. M. 2154. From the first year of Inachus, to the beginning of Triopas's reign, who was the seventh king of Argos, Castor computes three hundred and four years; so that Triopas began to reign A. M. 2458; and Tatian and Clemens Alexandrinus both agree, that Cecrops reigned about the time of Triopas⁹; and Eusebius, after examining farther, was of the same opinion¹. Thus from both these accounts of Castor, we must begin Cecrops's reign later than A. M. 2450.

3. We have in the next place a computation, which Scaliger intended to have pass for Eusebius's, which will bring us to about the same year. It is computed that Ogyges first reigned over the Athenians, and that he was contemporary with Phoroneus

⁷ Euseb. *Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ.* p. 24.

⁸ In Chron. Can.

⁹ Clem. Stromat. lib. i, p. 380; edit. Oxon. c. 21; Tatian, Orat. ad Græcos. p. 132, sec. 60.

¹ Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 9.

king of Argos²: Castor was of the same opinion³. It is said farther, that Ogyges lived about the time of Messapus the ninth king of Sicyon; and that he was later than Belochus the ninth king of Assyria. Now, if any one will make a table of the kings of Assyria, beginning Belus's reign where I have placed it, he will find that Belochus died A. M. 2263; and from Castor's table of the kings of Sicyon, it may be computed, that Messapus began his reign A. M. 2246, and ended it A. M. 2293. So that if we place Ogyges the year after Belochus died, we shall place him in the eighteenth year of Messapus, and A. M. 2264; and from Ogyges to Cecrops we are told are one hundred and ninety years, so that this account will place Cecrops A. M. 2454.

4. Porphyry's account places Cecrops still later. He says that Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt in the forty-fifth year of Cecrops⁴. Now Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt A. M. 2513, and therefore if Cecrops began his reign but forty-five years before this time, we must place him A. M. 2468. These are the several computations of the ancient writers, which are now extant; but I would in the next place observe, that Eusebius did not intend to agree with any of these computations.

We have a general, but a full account of what Eusebius, after the best examination he could make, found to be true, both in his *Præparatio Evangelica*, and in his *Præmium* to his Greek

² Euseb. *Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ.* p. 27.

³ Ibid. p. 24.

⁴ Ibid. p. 29.

Canon Chronicus⁵; and the particulars are :

1. That Cecrops and Moses were contemporaries.
2. That they lived four hundred years before the taking of Troy; or rather, as he expresses it in another place, almost four hundred years before the taking of Troy.
3. That from Moses backwards to the birth of Abraham are four hundred and five years, and so many likewise from Ninus to Cecrops.
4. From Semiramis to Cecrops are more than four hundred years.

These are the particulars of which Eusebius thought himself well assured, and from these it will fully appear, that Eusebius's computations did not really differ from our epocha on the marble. For, 1. If by Cecrops and Moses being contemporaries he meant, that Moses was born after Cecrops was king at Athens, and this seems to be Eusebius's meaning; (he says *Μωυσεα γενεσθαι κατὰ Κεκροπα*⁶, which expression is best explained by what he says of Ninus in the same place, that *Ἀβρααμ εἶναι κατὰ αὐτον*, and he supposes Abraham born towards the latter end of Ninus's reign, in his forty-third year; and this is evidently the meaning of the expression several times used in Castor's list beforementioned⁷ always in this sense). If, I say, we are to understand by this expression, that Moses was born after Cecrops began his reign at Athens, there is no difference in this particular

⁵ See Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 9, p. 486. Προοιμ.

⁶ Προοιμ. ut sup.

⁷ Both of the Sicyonian and Argive kings. Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 19. 24.

between Eusebius and the marble. For Moses was born A. M. 2433⁸, and according to the marble, Cecrops began to reign A. M. 2423. 2. Moses and Cecrops were four hundred years before the taking of Troy, not quite so much but almost. Now if we suppose Troy was taken A. M. 2820, according to archbishop Usher, the year in which the marble begins Cecrops's reign is three hundred and ninety-seven years before the taking of Troy; or rather, if we fix the taking of Troy according to the marble⁹ to A. M. 2796, we begin Cecrops's reign three hundred and seventy-three years before the taking of Troy, and place Moses's birth before that period three hundred and eighty-three years, making it fall short seventeen only of four hundred. 3. From Moses backwards to the birth of Abraham are five hundred and five years, and from Cecrops to Ninus are the same number. Now Moses was born A. M. 2433; Abraham was born 2008; so that here evidently wants eighty years of the computation. But Eusebius tells us expressly, that he designed this account should begin, not at Moses's birth, but at the eightieth year of his life¹: how this came to be omitted in his *Præparatio Evangelica*² I cannot tell. Now, if in like manner we compute backwards from the eightieth year after the beginning of Cecrops's reign³, we shall come to

⁸ Archbishop Usher.

⁹ Epocha 25.

¹ Απο τῆς π. Μωσεως, &c. Προσιμ. ut sup.

² Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 9, p. 484.

³ Απο δηλωθεντος ετης της Κεκροπος Βασιλειας, are the words

Ninus. Ninus died A. M. 2017. The eightieth year after the first of Cecrops is according to the marble 2503 ; deduct out of it five hundred and five years, and the year you will come back to is A. M. 1998, which falls within Ninus's reign, and is the thirty-third year of his reign. 4. From Semiramis to Cecrops are more than four hundred years. Semiramis began her reign A. M. 2017⁴. Cecrops according to the marble began his 2423, *i. e.* four hundred and six years after Semiramis. Thus, according to the particulars upon which Eusebius calculated the time of Cecrops, we must conclude that his computations agree perfectly well with that of the marble, varying very little if any thing at all from it ; and from all these particulars duly considered, it appears very plainly, that Cecrops is not placed in the Canon Chronicus, which we now have of Eusebius, where Eusebius did in all probability really place him. For, 1. Cecrops is there placed thirty-five years after the birth of Moses ; so that Moses ought not to have been said to be *κατα Κεκροπα*, or born in the times of Cecrops, but Cecrops to have been *κατα Μωυσεα*, and so Eusebius would have expressed it, if this had been his meaning. 2. According to this canon, Moses is not born almost four hundred years before the taking of Troy. 3. Cecrops is here made to be four hundred and fifty years later than Semiramis, which

of both in c. 9, lib. x, Præp. Evang. et in Proœm. And Vigerius the Latin translator renders it, " Ab illo Cecropis regni anno."

⁴ See vol. i, b. iv, p. 164.

cannot well be reconciled with Eusebius. 4. Five hundred and five years computed backwards from the eightieth year of Cecrops, will not bring us back to Ninus; for according to this canon, Cecrops's first year is four hundred and fifty years after the last year of Ninus, so that the position of Cecrops in the present canon of Eusebius does but ill agree with two of Eusebius's four marks of Cecrops's time, and evidently differs from the other two; whereas the true time of Cecrops, as fixed by the marble, agrees perfectly with all the four. But the learned know that the Chronicon of Eusebius, which he himself composed, is long ago lost, and that the work we now have of that name was composed by Scaliger, from such fragments as he could find of Eusebius in other writers; and he has in some things given us his own sentiments, instead of Eusebius's chronology, of which we have an evident instance in this particular; which, with several others, ought carefully to be distinguished by those, who would build upon the authority of Eusebius's Chronicon. Thus at last it appears, that the marble differs from Scaliger only and not from Eusebius. Scaliger was probably led into this mistake by Castor's computations; not attending to what Eusebius has said upon the subject in his other works, and in his preface to this.

I might offer something farther, to show how Castor was led into his mistake in this point; but I fear the reader is already tired with too long a digression; however, I will suggest a hint, which

the reader may consider farther, if he pleases. It is agreed by all the best writers, that Cecrops lived about the time of Triopas king of Argos; and, according to Castor's computations, Triopas began to reign A. M. 2458; but it is remarkable that Castor sets Triopas lower in the Argive list than he ought to have done; for he has inserted a king as his predecessor, who never reigned there. He makes Apis the third king of Argos, and says he reigned thirty-five years; but we find from Æschylus⁵, that Apis was not a king of Argos, but a foreigner who came from Ætolia, and did indeed do the Sicyonians a public service, and so might possibly have his name recorded in their registries. Pausanias confirms this point, for he does not insert Apis amongst the kings of Argos⁶, but places Argus or Criasus next to Phoroneus, omitting Apis. Now, if we strike Apis out of the roll, and deduct the years of his reign, we shall bring Castor's opinion thirty-five years nearer to the marble, and leave but a small difference between them. Upon the whole Africanius observed, that the ancient writers differed in their sentiments about the times of Cecrops; some (he says) supposed him contemporary with Prometheus, Atlas, and Epimetheus; others placed him sixty, and others ninety years after them⁷. Clemens Alexandrinus places Prometheus, Atlas, Epimetheus, and Cecrops together in the time of Tri-

⁵ Æschyl. in Supplic. v. 264.

⁶ In Corinthiacis.

⁷ Χρονικ. λογ. πρωτ. p. 26.

opas⁸, and so does Tatian⁹, but Eusebius seems to differ from them in this particular, and to think Atlas, Prometheus, and Epimetheus, before Cecrops¹; how long, he has not told us, nor can we possibly guess from Scaliger's canon of Eusebius; for he has inserted Atlas twice; eighty-two years before Cecrops in one place², and again with Prometheus and Epimetheus thirty-one years before him in the other³. Most probably Eusebius thought that Clemens and Tatian placed him too early, by making him contemporary with Atlas, and yet found that sixty or ninety years after him would be too late, and so chose a medium; and we find he was far from being singular in his opinion; for the Parian Chronicon agrees very nearly, if not exactly with him; so that here are two authorities concurring, which is more than can be found in favour of any of the other computations.

After Cecrops was made king of Attica, he endeavoured to form the people; who were, before his time, but unsettled and wandering peasants, lived up and down the country, reaped the fruits of the earth, and took the cattle for their use when and where they could find them; for this was the wild and disorderly manner in which the ancient inhabitants of Greece lived⁴. But Cecrops instructed his people, and gave them laws for society,

⁸ Stromat. lib. i, c. 21. ⁹ Orat. ad Græcos. sec. 60. p. 132.

¹ See Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 9, p. 486.

² Scal. Num. Euseb. 379.

³ Num. 430.

⁴ Thucyd. Hist. lib. i, c. 2.

and taught them how to be of help and comfort, and advantage to one another; and in order to teach them this more fully, he endeavoured to draw them together, and to have them live in a settled habitation, within the reach of his influence and inspection, and therefore taught them to build houses, and make a town or city, which he called Cecropia from his own name. Strabo from Philochorus says⁵, that Cecrops instructed his people to build twelve cities; but if such a number of cities were really built by a prince of this name, I think, according to what the most learned Dr. Potter, the present Lord Bishop of Oxford, has remarked, that these twelve cities were built by Cecrops the second of that name, and seventh king of Attica, and not by this first Cecrops⁶. Twelve cities were not to be attempted at once; it was a great thing to raise one from so uncultivated a people. The Scholiast upon Pindar⁷ reports from Philochorus, that Cecrops instituted a poll, to see how many subjects he had to begin with, causing every man to cast a stone into a place appointed, and that upon computation he found them to be in number twenty thousand; but may we not think that this particular also belongs to the second Cecrops, and not to the first? I cannot well imagine how Cecrops could at first get together twenty thousand of these untaught people; or if he could have got

⁵ Thucyd. Hist. lib. ix.

⁶ Archæologia Græca, vol. i, c. ii, p. 9.

⁷ Olympion, ode ix, lin. 68.

them together, how he could well have managed them. It is more likely he would have chosen to begin with a less company. But certainly the country itself could not at this time supply him with so many men ; for if we look to the Trojan war, though the Athenians had been a growing people all along until that time ; and though Theseus vastly augmented their number by inviting all foreigners who could be got into his city⁸ ; yet we find the Athenians sent but twenty ships to Troy, in each of which, if we suppose with Plutarch a hundred and twenty men, or, which from the calculation of our English Homer⁹ seems more probable, eighty-five men only in each vessel, it will appear that Athens could then furnish out at most but six thousand, or rather four thousand two hundred and fifty men, and therefore could not begin with twenty thousand. For considering how numerous they made their armies in these early days, in proportion to the numbers of their people, twenty thousand men in the days of the first Cecrops must have made Athens able to have furnished out a greater number of soldiers for an expedition, in which all Greece was forward to engage with its utmost strength. Cecrops therefore began his kingdom, like other legislators, with a far less number of subjects than the Scholiast represented. Romulus at first had but few inhabit-

⁸ Plutarch in Theseo.

⁹ Pope's notes upon Homer's Catalogue of Ships, Il. ii ; See Thucyd. Hist. l. i, c. 9.

ants for his city, which became afterwards the mistress of the world. When he wanted wives for his subjects, six hundred and eighty-three Sabines were a great supply¹; and after that, when he had incorporated the people of two nations² with his own, the bulk of his subjects even then amounted to but six thousand men. These were the small beginnings of all nations in the world; and Cecrops must be thought to begin his in like manner. One point, which he took the greatest care of, was to instruct the people in religion; for all authors, who speak of him, are express, and more particular in this than one would expect³; so that we may guess he was remarkably diligent in this matter. He divided them into four tribes, orders, ranks, or fraternities; in order to their being capable of performing, each sort of men in their rank and order, the several offices of civil life. He taught them likewise all the arts of living, in which he must have been well instructed, by having lived in so flourishing a kingdom as Egypt had been. He applied himself daily in giving them laws and rules for their actions, in hearing and deciding all causes of difference which might arise amongst them, and

¹ Dionys. Halicarnass. l. ii, p. 97. All his number were two thousand three hundred, *ibid.* p. 86. Some say, the Sabine virgins taken were but thirty. Valerius Antias makes them five hundred and twenty-seven: Juba, six hundred and eighty-three. Plut. in Rom.

² *Id.* l. ii, c. 35, p. 100.

³ Euseb. in Chronic. *id.* Præp. Evang. l. x, c. 9; Syncellus, p. 153; Macrobian. Saturnal. lib. i, c. 10.

in encouraging every thing which might tend to their living in peace and good order, and suppressing and dissuading them from all actions which might interrupt their happiness. Before his time the people of Attica made no marriages, but had their women in common; but he reduced them from this wild and brutish extravagance, and taught each man to marry one wife⁴; for which reason Athenæus and Justin⁵ say he was called *Διφύης*, or one born of two parents. Other writers assign other reasons for his having this appellation; but this seems by far the best. The Athenians themselves have given divers accounts of his having this name; but they were so different, and many of them so frivolous, that Diodorus Siculus⁶ concluded they had lost the true account of it. Cecrops governed Attica fifty years⁷. He had a son and three daughters: his son's name was Erysichthon, his daughters were Hirce, Aglaurus, and Pandrosos. Erysichthon died before his father, and was buried at Prasiæ, a city of Attica⁸. Cecrops died A. M. 2473.

When Cecrops died, Cranaus, a very potent and wealthy Attican, was made king⁹. He had several daughters, one of whom was married to Amphictyon, who expelled his father-in-law Cranaus, and

⁴ Suidas in *Προμειδ.*

⁵ Athenæus *Deipnosoph.* l. xiii, p. 555; Justin. lib. ii, c. 6.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. l. i.

⁷ Euseb. in *Chron.*

⁸ Pausan. in *Atticis*, lib. i, c. 2; *ibid.* c. 31.

⁹ Castor in Euseb. *Chron.*; Pausan. in *Atticis*, c. 3.

made himself king ; but in a little time Erichthonius made a party, and deposed Amphictyon. All this happened in about twenty years after the death of Cecrops ; for, according to the marble¹, Amphictyon was king within ten years after Cecrops's death, and Erichthonius within ten more². Erichthonius was an Egyptian, and very probably came with Cecrops into Greece. Diodorus says, that Erechtheus came from Egypt, and was made king of Athens³ ; here is only a small mistake of the name, made either by Diodorus, or some transcriber. Erechtheus was the son of Pandion, and grandson of Erichthonius⁴, and Erichthonius was the person who came from Egypt. Agreeable to this is the account which the Greeks give of him, who say he had no mortal father, but was descended from Vulcan and the Earth⁵, *i. e.* he was not a native of their country ; for they had no account to give of his family or ancestors, and so in time they made a fable instead of a genealogy. Attica was a barren country, but Erichthonius taught his people to bring corn from Egypt⁶.

About sixty-three years after Cecrops began his reign at Athens, and about thirteen years after Cecrops's death, Cadmus came into Bœotia, and built Thebes, A. M. 2486⁷. Tatian and Clemens

¹ Epoch. v, et vii.

² Epoch. ix.

³ Lib. i, c. 29.

⁴ Castor in Euseb. ; Pausan. ubi sup.

⁵ Pausan. *ibid.*

⁶ Diodorus Sic. lib. i.

⁷ Marmor. Arund. Ep. vii.

Alexandrinus⁸ thought him much later; but as they assign no reasons for their opinions, so certainly they were much mistaken in this, as they are confessed to be in some other points, which Eusebius wrote after them on purpose to correct⁹. Eusebius himself, if Scaliger indeed places Cadmus according to Eusebius's meaning, has mistaken this point; for Cadmus stands in the Chronicon¹ above a hundred years lower than his true place, which the marble seems very justly to have fixed, as may clearly appear by considering what Pausanias has given of Cadmus's family, and comparing that and what Pausanias farther offers with Castor's account of the Sicyon kings. Labdacus (Pausanias tells us) was the grandson of Cadmus; and being a minor when his father died, he was committed to the care of Nycteus, who was appointed to be his guardian, and regent of his kingdom²; now Nycteus was wounded in a battle with Epopeus³. Epopeus was the seventeenth king of Sicyon⁴, and was contemporary with the guardian of Labdacus, Cadmus's grandson. Epopeus reigned⁵ but thirty-five years; we may therefore suppose Polydorus the father of Labdacus son of Cadmus contemporary with Corax, the predecessor of Epopeus, and Cadmus the

⁸ Tatian. Orat. ad Græcos, c. 61; Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. i, c. 21.

⁹ See Euseb. *Προοίμ.*

¹ Euseb. Num. 587.

² Pausan. in Bœoticis, c. v.

³ Pausan. in Corinthiacis, c. 6.

⁴ Castor in Chron. Euseb. p. 19.

⁵ Id. *ibid.*

father of Polydorus might begin his reign in the time of Echureus, the predecessor of Corax; and from the third year of Marathionius, in whose time (according to Castor) Cecrops reigned at Athens, to the beginning of Echureus's reign, are but thirty-five years⁶. So that, supposing Cadmus to come to Thebes, according to the marble, sixty-three years after Cecrops began his reign at Athens, we must date Cadmus's coming to Thebes in the twenty-eighth year of Echureus, and thereabouts we must place Cadmus; because the grandson of Cadmus was a minor and had a guardian in the reign of Epopeus, who was the second king next after Echureus, in whose time we suppose Cadmus. I might offer another argument to prove that Cadmus cannot be later than the marble supposes him. Oenotrus, the youngest son of Lycaon, led a colony of the Pelasgi into Italy⁷. These Pelasgi did not go into Italy until after Cadmus had taught the Greeks the use of letters; for they conveyed into Italy the knowledge of the letters which Cadmus had taught the Greeks⁸. Lycaon the father of Oenotrus reigned in Arcadia at the same time when Cecrops reigned at Athens⁹. The marble supposes that Cadmus came into Greece about sixty-three years after Cecrops began his reign at Athens, and we cannot imagine him to be later; for if he was later, how could the son of Lycaon, when

⁶ Castor in Chron. Euseb. p. 19.

⁷ Pausan. in Arcad. c. 3.

⁸ Vol. i, b. iv, p. 197.

⁹ Pausan. in Arcad. c. 2.

Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops, learn Cadmus's letters time enough to convey the knowledge of them into a foreign country?

The reader may perhaps meet with an account of Cadmus's ancestors, taken in part from Apollodorus and other ancient writers¹; which may seem to argue that Cadmus lived much later than we suppose. It is said that Cadmus was the son of Agenor, Agenor son of Libya, daughter of Epaphus; Epaphus son of Io daughter of Iasus, who was son of Triopas king of Argos. Io was carried into Egypt, and married there. By this account Cadmus will be six descents lower than Triopas, and consequently as much later than Cecrops, for all writers agree that Cecrops and Triopas were contemporaries; but, from the former arguments and computations, we suppose that Cadmus was about sixty-three years only later than Cecrops. But there is an evident mistake in this genealogy: there were two Grecian Ios, both of whom went into and lived in Egypt; the former was the daughter of Inachus, the latter was the daughter of Iasus; and Cadmus was descended from the former, and not from the latter. If we compute from Castor's table of the Argive kings², comparing and correcting it in respect of Apis, whom Castor has erroneously inserted, by Pausanias's account of them³; we shall find that Io daughter of Inachus

¹ See Prideaux, Not. Historic. ad Chronic; Marmor. Ep. vii.

² Euseb. in Chronic. p. 24.

³ Pausanias in Corinthiacis, c. 15, 16.

is exactly six descents higher than Io the daughter of Iasus ; so that if the computing Cadmus's genealogy from the latter Io sets him almost six descents too low, as I just now remarked, the computing from the former Io exactly answers and corrects this mistake. That the former Io went to live in Egypt is evident from Eusebius⁴, as it is from Pausanias that the latter did so⁵ ; and farther it is expressly remarked by Eusebius that Io the daughter of Inachus was the mother of Epaphus⁶ ; and therefore this Io, and not the daughter of Iasus, was the ancestor of Cadmus.

It is much disputed by the learned whether Cadmus was a Phœnician or an Egyptian ; and there are arguments not inconsiderable offered on both sides ; but the true account of him is, that he was born in Phœnicia. His father was an Egyptian, and left Egypt about the time when Cecrops came from thence, and he obtained a kingdom in Phœnicia, as Cecrops did in Attica ; and his sons Phœnix and Cadmus were born after his settling in this country. Hence it came to pass that Cadmus, having had an Egyptian father, was brought up in the Egyptian religion, and not a stranger to the history of Egypt, which occasioned many circumstances in his life, which induced after-writers to think him an Egyptian. At the same time being born and educated in Phœnicia, he learned the Phœnician language and letters, and

⁴ Chroni c. Can. Num. 160 et 481.

⁵ Pausan. ubi sup.

⁶ Euseb. Num. 481.

had a Phœnician name; from hence most who have written about him have with good reason concluded him to be a Phœnician. Diodorus Siculus⁷, Clemens Alexandrinus⁸, Pausanias⁹, and from them Bochart¹, conclude him to be a Phœnician. Sir John Marsham and Dean Prideaux², thought him an Egyptian.

Sir John Marsham offers one argument for his being an Egyptian, from an inscription found in the tomb of Alcmena, which though it does not seem to prove Cadmus an Egyptian, nor hardly any thing relating to him, yet I would willingly mention it, in order to take an opportunity of remarking how artfully the governors of kingdoms in those days made use of oracles and prodigies merely as engines of state, to serve their political views and designs. The tomb of Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon and mother of Hercules, was at Haliartus, a city of Bœotia; and being opened in the time of Agesilaus king of Sparta, there were found in it a brass bracelet, two earthen pots which contained the ashes of the dead, and a plate of brass, upon which were inscribed many very odd and antique letters, too old and unusual to be read by the Grecian antiquaries; the letters were thought to be Egyptian, and therefore Agesilaus sent Agatoridas into Egypt, to the priests there, desiring

⁷ Lib. iv, p. 420.

⁸ Stromat. lib. i, c. 16.

⁹ In Bœoticis, c. 12.

¹ In Præfat. ad Canaan.

² Marsham Can. Chron. p. 118; Prideaux, Not. Histor. ad Chron; Marm. Ep. vii, p. 155.

them, if they could, to decypher them. Chronuphis, an Egyptian priest, after three days examining all the ancient books and forms of their letters, wrote the king word, that the characters were the same that were used in Egypt in the time of king Proteus, and which Hercules the son of Amphitryon had learned, and that the inscription was an admonition to the Greeks to leave off their wars and contests with one another, and to cultivate a life of peace, and the study of arts and philosophy. The messengers, who were sent, thought Chronuphis's advice very seasonable, and they were more confirmed in their opinion at their return home, by Plato's asking the priests at Delos for some advice from their oracle, and receiving an answer, which, as Plato interpreted it, intimated that the Greeks would be happy, if they would leave off their intestine wars, and employ themselves in cultivating the study of the arts and sciences. This is the substance of Plutarch's account of this whole affair³; and I cannot see that we have any light about the inscription in the tomb, nor that we are told to any purpose what the letters were, or by whom written. The discovery of them happened about the end of the war between the Lacedemonians and the Thebans; when the Thebans lost their general Epaminondas⁴. At that time Agesilaus had a scheme of being hired to command the Egyptian armies against the Persians, and the

³ Plut. de Genio. Socratis, p. 579.

⁴ Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, b. vii, p. 661,

Egyptians were fond of having him⁵; but he could not think it safe to go out of Greece, unless he could be sure of settling a firm and lasting peace amongst the several states of it; in order to which he laid hold of this accident of the antique inscription in the tomb of Alcmena, and he and his messengers and Chronuphis joined all together to frame such an interpretation of it, and to confirm it by a like order from Delos, as might bind the Greeks to a religious observance of the general peace which was at that time just concluded amongst them. Had the brass table been truly decyphered, without doubt it contained nothing else but an account of the persons whose ashes were deposited in the tomb where it was found, and most probably the letters were such as Amphytrion inscribed upon his Tripod at Thebes⁶. However, it happened luckily to serve the political views of Agesilaus and the Egyptians; and so the Egyptians contrived such an account of it as might render it effectual for that purpose. What became of the original, we are not informed; probably the Egyptians did not send it back to have it farther examined. But to return to Cadmus.

When Cadmus came into Greece, he was accompanied by a number of followers whom Herodotus calls the Gephyraei⁷. They were natives of Phœnicia, and went under his direction to seek a

⁵ Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, b. vii, p. 661.

⁶ Herodot. in Terpsichor. c. 59.

⁷ Id. lib. v. c. 58.

new habitation : a custom not very unusual in these days. When they came into Greece, they were at first opposed by the inhabitants of the country ; but being better soldiers than the raw and ignorant Bœotians, they easily conquered them. Bœotia was inhabited at the time of Cadmus's coming into it by the Hyantes and the Aones ; one of these, the Hyantes, Cadmus entirely routed, and compelled them to flee out of the country, but he came to terms of accommodation with the Aones⁸, and having bought a cow, and marked her according to the superstitious ceremonies of the Egyptian religion⁹, he pretended he had a special command from the gods to build a city where the cow, which he ordered his companions to drive gently into the country, should lie down when weary. So where the cow lay down he built a city and called it Cadmea, and here he settled with his companions ; giving the Aones free liberty, either to come and live in his city, and incorporate with his people, or to live in the little villages and societies which they had formed, in the manner they had been used to before he came into their country¹. It is commonly said that Cadmus began his travels by his father's order, in search of his sister Europa² ; but some considerable writers think this a fiction³,

⁸ Pausan. in Bœoticis, c. 5.

⁹ Id. *ibid.* c. 12 ; see Prideaux, Not. ad Chron ; Marmor. ep. vii.

¹ Pausanias in Bœoticis, c. 5.

² Diodorus Sic. l. iv, c. 2.

³ See Prideaux, Not. ad Chron ; Marmor. Epoch vii.

and Pausanias hints that Europa was not the daughter of Agenor, but of Phœnix⁴. Ovid relates at large an account of Cadmus's followers being devoured by a serpent; that Cadmus killed the serpent, and sowed his teeth in the ground; and that there sprang from this serpent's teeth a number of armed men, who as soon as they were grown up out of the ground, fell to fighting one another, and were all killed except five; and that these five, who survived the conflict, went with Cadmus and assisted him in building Thebes⁵. I am sensible that the men, who believed this strange story, may be justly thought as weak as the fiction is marvellous; but there are hints of it in writers not so poetically inclined as Ovid; and there is room to conjecture what might give the first rise to so wild and extravagant a fable. When Cadmus came into Bœotia, and had conquered the inhabitants, it might be recorded of him, in the Phœnician or Hebrew language, which anciently were the same, that he [עשה חיל חמש אנשים נשקים בשני נחש] *nasah chail chamesh anoshim, noshekim be shenei nachash*—These words might begin the account, and in these words there are the following ambiguities. *Chamesh* signifies warlike, or prepared for war, and a word of the same letters⁶ may be

⁴ In Achaicis, c. 4.

⁵ Metamorph. lib. iii, fab. 1.

⁶ We may easily apprehend, that in a language where the vowels were originally not written, many words of exactly the same letters must have a very different signification. If we were to write our English words in consonants only, leaving

translated five. *Shenei* may signify spears, or it may be rendered teeth. *Nachash* is the Hebrew word for a serpent, or for brass; and these words being thus capable of denoting very different things, a fabulous translator might say⁷, *he raised a force of five men armed from the teeth of a serpent*, when the words ought to have been translated, *he raised a warlike force of men*, or an army, *armed with spears of brass*. The Greeks in the mythological times were particularly fond of disguising all their ancient accounts with fable and allegory; therefore it is no wonder that they gave the history of Cadmus this turn, when the words in which his actions were recorded gave them so fair an opportunity. Cadmus is said to have found out the art of working metals and making armour⁸; and I suppose that some of his companions were the *Idæi Dactyli* mentioned by Pausanias, Diodorus, Strabo, and other writers; for these *Idæi Dactyli* made their first appearance near mount Ida in Phrygia⁹, and Cadmus travelled this way from Phœnicia into Greece, going out of Asia into Thrace, and from thence into Greece. Cadmus and his companions introduced the use of the Phœnician letters into Greece, their alphabet consisting only of sixteen letters¹.

the reader to supply the vowels, as the Hebrew was anciently written, our own tongue would afford many instances.

⁷ See Bocharti Canaan. lib. i, c. 19.

⁸ Plin. lib. vii, p. 56.

⁹ Diodor. Sic. lib. xvii, c. 7.

¹ See vol. i, book iv, p. 199.

Danaus was another considerable person, who travelled about this time from Egypt into Greece; and the ancient writers agree pretty well in their accounts of him. Chemnis, says Herodotus², is a large city near Nea, in Thebais; and the Egyptians say that Danaus and Lynceus were of Chemnis, and that they sailed into Greece. Apollodorus³ agreeing with the Parian marble, says, that Danaus built a ship and fled with it from Egypt. Diodorus gives a larger account of him⁴; that he came from Egypt to Rhodes with his daughters; that three of his daughters died at Rhodes, and the rest went with him to Argos. Pausanias relates that Danaus came from Egypt, and obtained the kingdom of Argos from Gelanor the son of Sthenelus⁵. Danaus was himself descended from a Grecian ancestor. Io the daughter of Iasus king of Argos married into Egypt, and when Iasus died, his brother's children came to the crown; Iasus having no other child but Io, and she being absent and married into a foreign country. Gelanor was a descendant of Iasus's brother, Danaus of Iasus by Io his daughter, and this must be the plea which he had to offer the Argives to induce them to accept him for their king. The dispute between him and Gelanor before the people of Argos, upon this point, was argued at large on both sides for a whole day. Gelanor was thought to have offered

² Lib. ii, c. 91.³ Lib. ii, sec. 4.⁴ Hist. l. v, c. 58.⁵ Pausan. in Corinthiacis, c. 16, c. 19.

as weighty and strong arguments for his own right, as Danaus could offer for his ; and the next day was appointed for the farther hearing and determining their claims, when an accident put an end to the dispute, and obtained Danaus the crown. There happened a fight between a wolf and a bull near the place where the people were assembled ; and the wolf conquering the bull, the crown was hereupon adjudged to Danaus. The combat was thought ominous, and the wolf being a creature with which they were less acquainted than the bull, it was thought to be the will of the gods, declared by the event of this accidental combat, that the stranger should rule over them. Thus their superstition made them unanimous in a point of the greatest moment ; which perhaps they would not else have determined without creating great factions among themselves. A case somewhat like what happened in Persia, when Darius the son of Hystaspes was made king. His horse being the first that neighed seemed unquestionably to give him, in the eyes of his superstitious subjects, a better title to the throne, and perhaps a securer possession of it, than any other agreement which he and his princes could have made, that had not had such appearing countenance from religion⁶. Danaus came into Greece when Erichthonius was king of Athens, one thousand two

⁶ Herodot. lib. iii, c. 85, 86 ; Justin. lib. i, c. 10 ; Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, b. iii.

hundred forty-seven years before the Parian Chronicon was composed⁷, *i. e.* A. M. 2494, about eight years after Cadmus came into Bœotia. Castor's account of Danaus's coming to Argos, if we take out of it the years assigned to Apis's reign⁸, agrees well with this computation from the Parian Chronicon. He computed that Inachus began to reign at Argos when Thurimachus was king of Sicyon, *i. e.* about A. M. 2154⁹; from the first year of Inachus (including the reign of Apis) he reckons three hundred and eighty-two years to the death of Sthenelus, which would place Danaus A. M. 2536; but if we deduct thirty-five years for the insertion of Apis's reign, it will place him A. M. 2501, seven years only later than the marble.

Very little can be offered about the affairs of Greece, before the times when these men came to settle in it; though it is certain that Greece was inhabited long before these days, and that in some parts of it kingdoms were erected, and men of great figure and eminence lived in them. Ægialeus began a kingdom at Sicyon A. M. 1920¹, above five hundred years before Cecrops came to Athens; during which interval they had thirteen kings, according to Castor², and Pausanias found memoirs of the lives and families of twelve of them³. Inachus erected a kingdom at Argos A. M. 2154⁴,

⁷ Epoch. Marmor. ix.

⁹ Vide quæ supra.

² In Chronic. Euseb. part i, p. 19.

³ In Corinthiacis.

⁶ Vid. quæ supra.

¹ See b. vi, p. 36.

⁴ See b. vi, p. 37.

two hundred and sixty-nine years before Cecrops, and they had six kings in this interval⁵. Now these accounts are in all respects so reasonable in themselves, and so well suit with every fragment of ancient history, that no one can fairly reject them, unless antiquity alone be a sufficient reason for not admitting annals of so long standing. Kingdoms did not begin so early in other parts of Greece; but we find Thessalus, a king of Thessaly, A. M. 2332; his father's name was Graicus⁶. Deucalion reigned king there A. M. 2431, *i. e.* eight years after Cecrops came to Athens⁷; Ogyges reigned in Attica about A. M. 2244⁸, and the descendants of Telchin, third king of Sicyon, went and settled in the island Rhodes A. M. 2284⁹. Prometheus lived about A. M. 2340. He was fabulously reported to have made men, because he was a very wise man, and new formed the ignorant by his precepts and instructions¹; we have no certain account in what part of Greece he lived. Callithyia was the first priestess of Juno at Argos, A. M. 2381². Atlas lived about A. M. 2385; he was a most excellent astronomer for the times he lived in, and his great skill this way occasioned it to be said of him in after-ages, that he supported the heavens³. He lived near Tanagra,

⁵ Castor et Pausan.

⁶ Euseb. Chron. Num. 224.

⁷ Id.; Marm. Arundel. Epoch. 4.

⁸ Euseb. Chron. Num. 236.

⁹ Id. Num. 276.

¹ Id. Num. 332.

³ Id. Num. 375.

² Id. Num. 379.

a city upon the river Ismenus in Bœotia⁴, near to which place his posterity were said to be found, by the writers of after-ages. Homer supposes Calypso, a descendant of this Atlas, who detained Ulysses, to be queen of an island⁵,

———Οἳ τ' οὐφαλὸς ἐστὶ θαλασσης
Νησος δένδρεσσά·

i. e. of the island Atalanta, near the Sinus Meliacus in the Euripus⁶, over-against Opus⁷, a city of Bœotia.

The several kingdoms, which were raised in the other parts of Greece, began not much before or after Cecrops came to Attica. Pelasgus was the first king of Arcadia, and his son Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops⁸. Actæus, whom Cecrops succeeded, was the first king of Attica⁹. Athlius, the first king of Elis, was the grandson

⁴ Pausan. in Bœoticis, c. 20.

⁵ Odyss. i, ver. 50.

⁶ Wells's map of the mid parts of ancient Greece.

⁷ See Strabo, Geograph. lib. i, c. 9. The reader will, I am sensible, find but little certainty of the situation of Calypso's island. Solon gave an account, that there was really such a place when Homer wrote, but that it is since his time sunk in the sea, *i. e.* he could not tell where to find it. Some writers place it near to Egypt. All I can offer for my supposed situation of it is, the island Atalanta in the Euripus hits Homer's description exactly, οὐφαλὸς ἐστὶ θαλασσης, better than any other island supposed to be the place, and it lies near the country where Pausanias informs us that Atlas the father of Calypso lived; and Ulysses's voyages as described by Homer may be well reconciled with this position of it.

⁸ Pausanias in Arcadicis, c. 2.

⁹ Id. in Atticis, c. 2.

of Deucalion, and therefore later than Cecrops¹. Ephyre daughter of Oceanus is said to have first governed the Corinthians²; but we know nothing more of her than her name. The Corinthian history must begin from Marathon, who was the son of Epopeus, and planted a colony in this country. Epopeus lived about the time of Cadmus; for he fought with, and wounded Nycteus, who was guardian to Labdacus the grandson of Cadmus³; therefore Marathon the son of Epopeus must come to Corinth many years later than Cadmus came into Greece. Phocus, the first king of Phocis⁴, was five descents younger than Marathon; for Ornytion was father of Phocus⁵, Sisyphus was father of Ornytion⁶; Sisyphus succeeded Jason and Medea in the kingdom of Corinth, and Jason and Medea succeeded Corinthus the son of Marathon⁷; so that the inhabitants of Phocis became a people several generations later than Cadmus. Lelex formed the Lacedemonians much earlier; for Menelaus, who warred at Troy, was their eleventh king, so that Lelex reigned about the time of Cecrops⁸. The Messenians lived at first in little neighbourhoods, but at the death of Lelex the first king of Sparta, Polycaon one of his sons became king of this country⁹.

¹ Pausanias in Eliacis, c. 1.

² Id. in Corinthiacis, c. 1.

³ Id. in Phocicis, c. 1.

⁴ Id. ibid.

⁵ Id. in Laconis, c. 1.

⁶ Id. ibid. c. 6.

⁷ Id. in Corinthiacis, c. 4.

⁸ Id. ibid. c. 3.

⁹ Id. in Messeniicis, c. 1.

These were the first beginnings of the several kingdoms of Greece; and before the persons I have mentioned formed them for society, the inhabitants of the several parts of it lived a wandering life, reaping such fruits of the earth as grew spontaneously, each father managing his own family or little company; and having little or no acquaintance with one another, like the Cyclops in Homer¹; or, where most civilized, like the men of Laish, *they dwelt careless after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure, and there was no magistrate in the land, that might put them to shame in any thing: and they had no business with any man.*

Most writers, who have mentioned either Ogyges or Deucalion, have recorded that a deluge happened in each of their kingdoms. Attica, they say, was overflowed in the reign of Ogyges, and Thessaly in the reign of Deucalion. It is most reasonable however to think, that there were no extraordinary floods in either of these countries in the times of Deucalion or Ogyges; but that what the heathen writers offer about these supposed deluges, were only such hints as came down to their hands respecting the universal deluge in

¹ Homer, Odyss. ix, ver. 108.

ΟΥΤΕ ΦΥΤΕΥΗΣΙΝ ΧΕΡΣΙΝ ΦΥΤΟΝ, ΕΓ' ΑΡΩΣΙΝ·
 'ΑΛΛ' ΟΙΓ' ΥΨΗΛΩΝ ΟΡΕΩΝ ΝΑΙΕΣΙ ΚΑΡΗΝΑ
 'ΕΝ ΣΠΕΣΣΙ ΓΛΑΦΥΡΟΙΣΙ· ΘΕΜΙΣΤΕΥΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΚΑΣΟΣ
 ΠΑΙΔΩΝ ΗΔ' ΑΛΟΧΩΝ· ΕΔ' ΑΛΛΗΛΩΝ ΑΛΕΓΕΣΙ.

the days of Noah. Attica, in which Ogyges's flood is supposed to have happened, is so high situated, that it is hard to suppose any inundation of waters here, unless the greatest part of the world were drowned at the same time. Its rivers are but few, and even the largest of them almost without water in summer time²; and its hills are so many, that it cannot well be conceived how its inhabitants should perish in a deluge particularly confined to this country. Hieronymus, in his Latin version of Eusebius's *Chronicon*, seems to have been sensible that no such flood could be well supposed to have happened in Attica; and therefore removes the story into Egypt³, supposing Egypt to have suffered a deluge in the time of Ogyges's reign. But the most learned Dean Prideaux⁴ remarks from Suidas⁵, and Hesychius⁶, that the Greeks used the word (*Ὠγγίον*) Ogygian, proverbially, to signify any thing which happened in the most ancient times. Therefore by the Flood of Ogyges they meant, not any particular deluge, which overflowed his or any other single country; but only some very ancient flood, which happened in the most early times; and such was the Flood of Noah. The Greek chronology of the early

² Strabo Geogr. lib. ix, p. 400.

³ His words are, *Diluvium Ægypti hoc tempore fuit, quod factum est sub Ogyge.*

⁴ Not. Historic. ad *Chronic. Marm. Ep. i.*

⁵ Suidas in Voc. *Ὠγγίον*.

⁶ Hesych. in *Ὠγγίον*.

ages was very imperfect; they had some hints, that there had been an universal deluge; they apprehended nothing to be more ancient than the times of Ogyges, and therefore they called this deluge by his name; not intending hereby to hint that it happened precisely in his days, but only intimating that it had been in the most early times. As to Deucalion's Flood, Cedrenus and Johannes Antiochenus were of opinion, that Deucalion left his people a written history of the universal deluge; and that their posterity, many ages after his death, supposed his account to be a relation of what happened in the time when he lived; and so they called the flood, which he treated of, by his name⁷. But to this it is very justly objected, that letters were not in use in Greece so early as Deucalion's days; so that it is not to be supposed, that he could leave any memoirs or inscriptions of what had happened before his time; but then a small correction of what is hinted from Cedrenus and Antiochenus will set this matter in its true light. Deucalion taught the Greeks religion, and the great argument, which he used to persuade his people to the fear of the Deity, was taken from the accounts which he had received of the universal deluge, some hints of which were handed down into all nations. But as the Greeks were in these times not skilled in writing, so it is easy to imagine, that Deucalion

⁷ Prideaux in *Notis Historicis ad Chron. Marm. Ep. i.*

and the deluge might, by tradition, be mentioned together, longer than it could be remembered, whether he only discoursed of it to his people, or was himself a person concerned in it. It is remarkable, that whenever the profane writers give us any particulars of either the Flood of Ogyges, or that of Deucalion, they are much the same with what is recorded of Noah's Deluge. Solinus and Apollonius hint, that the Flood of Ogyges lasted about nine months⁸, and such a space of time Moses allots to the Deluge⁹. Deucalion is represented to have been a just and virtuous man, and for that reason to have been saved from perishing, when the rest of mankind were destroyed for their wickedness¹; and this agrees with what Moses says of Noah². Deucalion preserved only himself, his wife, and his children³; and these were the persons saved by Noah⁴. Deucalion built an ark, being forewarned of the destruction which was coming upon mankind⁵; and this Moses relates of Noah⁶. The taking two of every kind of the living creatures into the ark⁷; the ark's resting upon a mountain when the waters abated⁸; the

⁸ See Prideaux, Not. Hist. ad Chron. Marm. Ep. i.

⁹ Gen. vii, viii; see vol. i, book i, and ii.

¹ Lucian. de Dea Syria; Ovid. Metam. lib. i.

² Gen. vi, 5, 9.

³ Ovid. ubi sup; Lucian. de Dea Syria.

⁴ Gen. vii, 7.

⁵ Apollodorus, lib. i, c. 7; Lucian de Dea Syria.

⁶ Gen. vi, 13, 14.

⁷ Lucian. de Dea Syria.

⁸ Stephanus Etymolog. in *Παράροος*; Suidas in voc. ead.; Ovid. Metam. lib. i.

sending a dove out of the ark, to try whether the waters were abated or not⁹; all these circumstances are related of Deucalion, by the heathen writers, almost exactly as Moses remarks them in his account of Noah. Moses relates, that Noah, as soon as the Flood was over, built an altar, and offered sacrifices; so these writers say likewise of Deucalion¹; affirming that he built *το αρχαιον ιερον*, or an altar (for these were the most ancient places of worship) to the Olympian Jupiter. Upon the whole, the circumstances related of Noah's Flood, and of Deucalion's, do so far agree, that our learned countryman Sir W. Raleigh professed, that he should verily believe, that the story of Deucalion's Flood, was only an imitation of Noah's Flood devised by the Greeks, did not the times so much differ, and St. Augustine, with others of the fathers and reverend writers, approve the story of Deucalion. As to the difference of the times, certainly no great stress can be laid upon it. The Greeks were so inaccurate in their chronology of what happened so early as Deucalion, that it is no wonder if they were imposed upon, and ascribed to his days things done above seven hundred years before him; and I cannot but think, that St. Austin, and the other learned writers, who have mentioned either the Flood of Ogyges or of Deucalion, would have taken both

⁹ Plut. in lib. de Solertia Animalium.

¹ Pausan. in Atticis, c. 18.

of them to have been only different representations of the Deluge, if, besides what has been offered, they had considered, that we read but of one such flood as these having ever happened, in the country either of Deucalion or Ogyges. If the floods called by their names, were not the one universal deluge brought upon the ancient world, for the wickedness of its inhabitants; then they must have proceeded from some causes, which both before and since might, and would in a series of some thousands of years, have subjected these countries to such inundations. But we have no accounts of any that have ever happened here, except these two only, in each country one, and no more; so that it is most probable that in Attica, and in Thessaly, they had a tradition that there had anciently been a deluge. Their want of chronology had rendered the time when extremely uncertain; and some circumstances not duly weighed, or not perfectly understood, determined their writers in after-ages to call this deluge in the one country the Flood of Ogyges, in the other the Flood of Deucalion.

According to the Parian Chronicon^a, a person named Mars was tried at Athens for the murder of Halirrothius, the son of Neptune, in the reign of Cranaus the successor of Cecrops, about A. M. 2473. It is remarked, that the place of trial was named Arius Pagus, which was the

^a Epist. iii.

beginning of the senate or court of Areopagus at Athens, instituted, according to this account, soon after the death of Cecrops, in the very first year of his successor. Æschylus had a very different opinion of the origin of the name and time of erecting this court. He says, the place was named Areopagus from the Amazons offering sacrifices there to *Αρης*, or Mars; and he supposes that Orestes had been the first person tried before the court erected there³. But it is evident from Apollodorus⁴, that Cephalus was tried here for the death of Procris, who was the daughter of Erechtheus, the sixth king of Athens⁵. And the same author says, that Dædalus was also tried here for the death of Talus⁶, and Dædalus lived about the time⁷ of Minos king of Crete. From both these instances it appears, that Æschylus was much mistaken about the antiquity of the court of Areopagus; we may therefore conceive that he was ill informed about the true origin of its name. Cicero hints that Solon first erected this court⁸; and Plutarch was fond of the same opinion⁹, even though he confessed that there were arguments against it, which, I think, must appear unanswerable. For he himself cites a law of Solon, in which the court of Areopagus is expressly named

³ Eumenid. v, 690.

⁴ Lib. iii, c. 14.

⁵ Pausanias in Bæoticis, c. 19.

⁶ Apollodorus, lib. iii, c. 14. sec. 9.

⁷ Pausanias in Achaicis, c. 4.

⁸ De Offic. lib. i, c. 22.

⁹ In vit. Solon. p. 83.

in such a manner as to evidence, that persons had been convened before it before Solon's days¹. Solon, indeed, by his authority, made some alterations in the ancient constitution of this court; both as to the number and quality of the judges in it, and the manner of electing them. All this Aristotle remarks of him² expressly, saying at the same time, that Solon neither erected nor dissolved this court, but only gave some new laws for regulating it. Æschylus thought this court more ancient than the times of Solon; but Apollodorus carries up the account of it much higher than Æschylus, to the time of Minos, and to Erechtheus, who reigned about one hundred years after the time when the Marble supposes the trial of Mars; and the trial of Mars there for the death of Halirrothius is reported by many of the best ancient writers³. The number of judges in this court at its first origin were twelve⁴, of whom the

¹ Plut. in Solon.; his words are, Ο δε τρισκαιδεκατος αξων τε Σολωνος τον ογδοον εχει τον νομον ετως αυτοις ονομασι γεγραμμενον· Ατιμων οσοι ατιμοι ησαν πριν η Σολωνα αρξαι, επιτιμης ειναι, πλην οσοι εξ Αρειε παγυ καταδικασθεντες—εφυγον· N. B. The party accused in the court of Areopagus had leave to secure himself by flight, and go into voluntary banishment, if he suspected judgment would be given against him; provided he made use of this liberty before the court entered into the proofs of the merits of his cause; and by Solon's law, a person who claimed this privilege was to be for ever infamous.

² Aristot. Polit. lib. ii, c. 12.

³ Pausan. in Atticis; Stephanus, Suidas, et Phavorinus in Αρειος Παγος.

⁴ Apollodor. lib. iii, c. 13. sec. 2.

king was always one. Their authority was so great, and by their upright determinations they acquired so great a reputation, that their posterity called them gods; thus Apollodorus says, that Mars was acquitted by the twelve gods⁵. The number of these judges varied according to the different circumstances of the Athenian government; sometimes they were but nine, at other times thirty-one; and fifty-one. When Socrates was condemned, they were two hundred and eighty-one; and when Rufus Festus the proconsul of Greece was honoured with a pillar erected at Athens, it was hinted on that pillar, that the senate of Areopagus consisted of three hundred⁶. From hence it is very probable, that the first constitution of the city directed them to appoint twelve judges of this court; perhaps Cecrops divided his people into twelve wards or districts, appointing a president over each ward, and these governors of the several districts of the city were the first judges of the court of Areopagus. That Cecrops divided his people into twelve districts seems very probable; from its being said of him, that he built twelve cities⁷. For they say also, that all the twelve united at last into one; so that it seems most probable, that Cecrops only divided the people, in order to manage them the more easily; appointing some to live under the direction of one person whom he appointed to rule for him, and

⁵ Apollodor. lib. iii, c. 13. sec. 2.

⁶ Potter's Antiquities.

⁷ Strabo, lib. ix.

some under another, taking the largest number under his own immediate care, and himself inspecting the management of the rest. And these deputy-governors, together with the king, were by Cranaus formed into a court for the joint government of the whole people. When the government came into more hands, or was put into fewer, the number of the Areopagite judges lessened or increased. This court had the cognizance of all causes, which more particularly concerned the welfare of the state; and under this head all innovations in religion were in time brought before these judges. Socrates was condemned by them, for holding opinions contrary to the religion of his country; and St. Paul seems to have been questioned before them about his doctrines⁸, being thought by them *to be a setter forth of strange gods*. Many learned writers have given large accounts of the constitution and proceedings of this court⁹; which obtained the highest reputation in all countries where the Athenians were known. Cicero says, that the world may as well be said to be governed without the providence of the gods, as the Athenian republic without the decisions of the court of Areopagus¹. And their determinations were reputed to be so upright, that Pausanias informs us, that even foreign states voluntarily submitted their contro-

⁸ Acts xvii, 19.

⁹ See Bishop Potter's *Antiquities of Greece*.

¹ De Nat. Deorum, lib. ii, c. 29.

versies to these judges². Demosthenes likewise says of this court, that, to his time, no one had ever complained of any unjust sentence given by the judges in it³. But it belongs to my design, only to endeavour to fix the time of its first rise, and not to pursue at large the accounts which are given of its proceedings.

The council of the Amphictyones was first instituted by Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion, about A. M. 2483⁴. Deucalion was king of Thessaly, and his son Amphictyon succeeded him in his kingdom. Amphictyon, when he came to reign, summoned all the people together, who lived round about him, in order to consult with them for the public welfare. They met at the Pylæ or Thermopylæ (for by either of these names they called the straits of mount Oeta in Thessaly), because through this narrow passage was the only entrance into this country from Greece. Therefore they were called Πύλαι, Pylæ, or the gates or doors, that being the signification of the word⁵; and Thermopylæ, because there were many springs of hot waters in these passages, the Greek word Θερμός signifying hot⁶. Here Amphictyon met his people twice a year, to consult with them, to redress any grievances under which they might labour, and to form schemes for the public good. This seems to have been the first design of the

² In Messeniæ. c. 5.

³ In Aristocrat.

⁴ Marmor. Arundel. Ep. 5.

⁵ Strabo. lib. ix, p. 428.

⁶ Id. lib. p. 420.

council of the Amphictyones, so called from Amphictyon, the person who first appointed it; or some writers imagine, that the coassessors in this council were called *Ἀμφικίλυες*, because they came out of several parts of the circumjacent countries. This was the opinion of Androtion in Pausanias⁷; but the best writers generally embrace the former account, concerning the name of this council, which seems to be the most natural. Though Amphictyon first formed this council out of the people who lived under his government, and for the public good of his own kingdom; yet in time it was composed of the members of different nations, who met with larger and more extensive views, than to settle the affairs of one kingdom. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that the design of it was to cultivate an alliance of the Grecian states with one another; in order to render them more able to engage with any foreign enemy⁸. When the design was thus enlarged, the deputies of several cities were appointed to meet twice a year⁹, in Spring, and in Autumn. Strabo agrees with Æschines and Suidas, and computes the cities which sent deputies to this meeting to be twelve; but Pausanias enumerates only ten¹. It is most probable, that the states

⁷ Lib. x, c. 8.

⁸ Dionys. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. iv, c. 25.

⁹ Æschinis Orat. περί παραπροσβείας. Suidas in voc. Ἀμφικίλυες.

¹ In Phocicis, c. 8.

which agreed to meet in this council were at first but few, and these lived near Thermopylæ. In time more nations joined in alliance with them, and sent their agents to this meeting; who might be but ten when the accounts were taken from which Pausanias wrote; and they might be twelve when the hints were given from which Strabo, Suidas, and the writers who agree with them wrote. Acrisius king of Argos, who reigned above two hundred years later than Amphictyon, composed some laws or orders for the better regulating this council, and for the dispatch of the affairs which were laid before its members. Now what he did of this sort, occasioned some writers to suppose, that he might possibly be the first institutor of this council²; but Strabo justly hints, that he was thought so, only for want of sufficient memoirs of what had been appointed before his time³. Acrisius did indeed in many respects new regulate this meeting; he settled a number of written laws for the calling and management of it; he determined what cities should send deputies to it, and how many each city, and what affairs should be laid before the council⁴; and it is easy to conceive, that his having made these regulations, might occasion him to be thought in after-ages the first institutor of the assembly. The regulations made by Acrisius were punctually ob-

² Strabo, lib. ix, p. 420.

³ Id. *ibid.* τα παλαι μεν εν αγνοειται.

⁴ Prideaux, Not. Histor. ad Chron. Marm. Ep. 5.

served ; and the several cities, which had votes according to his constitutions, continued to meet without any obstruction, until the time of Philip king of Macedon, the father of Alexander the Great ; each city having two votes in the council and no more⁵. But in Philip's reign the Phocians and Dorians were excluded the council for plundering the temple of Apollo at Delphos ; and the two votes belonging to the Dorians were given to the Macedonians, who were then taken into the number of the Amphictyones⁶. About sixty-seven years after this, the Phocians defended the temple at Delphos with so much bravery against the Gauls, that they were restored to their votes again. The Dolopians, at this time being in subjection to the Macedonians, were reckoned but as a part of the kingdom of Macedon ; and the Macedonian deputies were said to be their representatives ; and the votes, which they had in the council before their incorporating with the Macedonians, were now taken from them and given to the Phocians⁷. The Perrhæbians likewise about the same time became subject to the Macedonians ; and so lost their right of sending their representatives to the council ; and the Delphians, who had before been represented by the Phocians, were now considered as a distinct and independent city, and were allowed to send their deputies to

⁵ Æschines in Orat. *περί παραπρεσβείας*.

⁶ Diodor. Sic. lib. xv ; Pausan. in Phocicis, c. 8.

⁷ Pausan in Phocicis, c. 8 ; Strabo, lib. ix.

the council⁸. In the reign of Augustus Cæsar after his building the city Nicopolis, he made several alterations in the constitution of this council⁹. He ordered several of the states of Greece, which in former times had been independent, and had sent distinct representatives, to be incorporated into one body, and to send the same representatives; and he gave his new city a right of sending six or eight. Strabo thought that this council was entirely dissolved in his time; but Pausanias, who lived in the time of Antoninus Pius, informs us, that the Amphictyones held their meetings in his time, and that their number of delegates were then thirty. But it is remarkable, that the ancient constitution of the assembly was entirely broken¹; many cities sent but one deputy, and some of the ancient cities had only turns in sending; they were not suffered to send all of them to one and the same council, but it was appointed that some should send their deputies to the vernal meeting, and some to the autumnal. I suppose, that when Greece was become subject to the Roman state, Augustus thought it proper to lessen the power and authority of the council of the Amphictyones, that they might not be able to debate upon or concert measures to disturb the Romans, or recover the ancient liberties of Greece. It might not perhaps be proper to suppress their meeting; but he took care to have

⁸ Æschines in Orat. *περί παραπρεσβείας*.

⁹ Pausan. in Phocicis, c. 8.

¹ Id. *ibid*.

so many new votes in the Roman interest introduced, and the number of the ancient members, who might have the Grecian affairs at heart, so lessened, that nothing could be attempted here to the prejudice of the Romans; and perhaps this was all that Strabo meant by hinting that Augustus dissolved this council. He did not deprive the Grecians of a council which bore this name; but so far new modelled it, that it was far from being in reality what it appeared to be; being in truth, after Augustus's time, rather a Roman faction than a Grecian assembly meeting for the benefit of the Grecian states: and in a little time the Amphictyones were not permitted to intermeddle with affairs of state at all, but reduced to have only some small inspection over the rites and ceremonies of religion practised in the temples under their cognizance; and thus upon abolishing the heathen superstitions, by Constantine, this assembly fell of course. The ancient writers are not unanimously agreed about the place where the Amphictyones held their meeting. That they met at first at Thermopylæ is undeniable; and in later ages a temple was built there to Ceres Amphictyoneis², in which they held their assemblies; but after the temple of Delphos was taken into their protection, it is thought by some writers that the Amphictyones met alternately, one time at Thermopylæ, the next time at Delphos, then at Thermopylæ, &c.

² Herodot. lib. vii, c. 200; Pausan. in Phocicis.

Sir John Marsham endeavours to argue from Pausanias³, that the Amphictyones, who met at Delphos, were a different council from that of the same name, which met at Thermopylæ. But the learned Dean Prideaux has shown this to be a mistake, Pausanias's words not necessarily inferring the two councils to be different, and many other good writers attesting that they were the same, and that the Amphictyones did meet at Delphos one time and at Thermopylæ another⁴. Strabo mentions a meeting held in the temple of Neptune, in the island Calauria⁵, to which seven neighbouring cities sent their deputies: this meeting was called by the name Amphictyonia, most probably because it was instituted in imitation of the famous council so called; but this meeting and that council were never taken to be the same.

Hellen the son of Deucalion reigned at Phthia, a city of Thessaly, about A. M. 2484, and his people were called Hellenes from his name: before his time they were called Græci, or Grecians⁶, most probably from Graicus, the father of Thessalus. Many ancient writers agree with the Marble in this remark, Apollodorus⁷, Aristotle⁸, and Pliny⁹, and the Scholiast upon Lycophron: but it should be observed from them all, that neither Hellenes nor

³ Marsham, Can. Chron, p. 116; Pausan. in Achaicis, c. 24.

⁴ Prideaux, Not. Historic. ad Chronic. Marmor. Ep. 5.

⁵ Strabo, lib. viii, p. 374.

⁶ Marmor. Arundel. Ep. 6.

⁷ Lib. i, c. 7, sec. 2.

⁸ De Meteoris, lib. i.

⁹ Lib. iv, c. 7.

Græci were at first the names of the inhabitants of the whole country called Greece in after-ages, but only of a part of it. The ancient Græci were those whom Hellen called after his name; and Hellen was a king of part of Thessaly, and only his people were the ancient Hellenes. Thus Pausanias remarks, that Hellas, which in later ages was the name of all Greece, was at first only a part of Thessaly¹, namely, that part where Hellen reigned. In Homer's time, Hellas was the name of the country near to Phthia; and it was then used in so extended a sense as to comprehend all the subjects of Achilles, who were two small nations besides the Hellenes, namely, the Myrmidons and the Pelasgian Achæans²; nay, it took in the country round about the Pelasgian Argos, for Homer places this Argos in the middle of it.

Ἀνδρος, του κλεος ευρυ κατ' Ἑλλάδα και μεσον Αργος³.

But it is remarkable, that Homer never calls all Greece by the name of Hellas, nor the Grecians in general Hellenes; because, according to Thucydides's observation, none but the subjects of Achilles had this name in Homer's days⁴. Strabo indeed opposes this remark of Thucydides, and cites Archilochus and Hesiod to prove, that the inhabitants of all Greece were called Hellenes before the time of Homer⁵; but Archilochus was much

¹ Pausan in Laconicis, c. 20.

² Il. ii, ver. 190.

³ Odyss. i, ver. 344.

⁴ Thucyd. Hist. lib. i.

⁵ Strabo, lib. viii, p. 370.

later than Homer, and the verse cited from Hesiod falls short of proving what Strabo infers from it⁶. The descendants of Hellen were the founders of many very flourishing families, who in time, and by degrees, spread into all the countries of Greece, and in length of time came to have so great an interest as to have an order made, that none could be admitted as a candidate at the Olympic games, who was not descended from them. Therefore Alexander the Great, according to Herodotus⁷, was obliged to prove himself to be a Hellen before he could be admitted to contend for any prize in these games. And from the time of making this order, every kingdom was fond of deriving their genealogy from this family, until all the Greeks were reputed to be Hellenes; and thus the name became universally applied to all the several nations of the country. The Marble hints, that Hellen, the father of this family, first instituted the Panathenæan games; not meaning, I suppose, that Hellen called them by that name, but that he instituted games of the same sort with the Panathenæan. Erichthonius was the first in Greece who taught to draw chariots with horses, and he instituted the chariot race⁸, about A. M. 2499⁹, in order to encourage his people to learn to manage horses this way with the greater dexterity. And we are told,

⁶ See Prideaux, Not. Hist. ad Chron. Marm. Ep. vi.

⁷ Herodot. lib. v, c. 22.

⁸ Virgil. Georg. iii; Euseb. Chron. Num. 543.

⁹ Chron. Marm. Ep. x.

that in his days there was found, in some mountains of Phrygia, the image of the mother of the gods ; and that Hyagnis made great improvements in the art of music, inventing new instruments and introducing them into the worship of Cybele, Dionysius, Pan, and the other deities and herogods of his country¹. Chariots may very properly be supposed to have been introduced into Greece by Erichthonius, for he was an Egyptian, and chariots were used in Egypt in the days of Joseph². But as to Cybele's image, we cannot reasonably suppose it was thus early, nor can the heathen music be thought to have been much improved until after these times. If Hyagnis invented the pipe, or tibia, we must say of his pipe, in the words of Horace,

Tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta, tubæque
Æmula ; sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco,
Aspirare, et adesse choris erat utilis, atque
Nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu.

DE ARTE POETICA.

His pipe was a mean and simple instrument, of less compass even than the trumpet ; and music was not advanced to any remarkable perfection in his days.

¹ Chron. Marmor. Ep. x.

² Gen. i, 9. In the Latin version of Eusebius's Chronicon, Trochilus is said to have invented the chariot, Num. cccclxvii ; but it must appear, by what we have in the same version, Num. dcliii, where Erichthonius is mentioned, that either Trochilus was a foreigner, and did not live in Greece, or what is said of him is a mistake.

It is generally said, that the religion of Greece was anciently what these Egyptians, Cecrops, Danans, Cadmus, and Erichthonius introduced. It may not be amiss, therefore, before we go farther, to examine what the ancient Egyptian religion was in their times ; how far it might be corrupted when they left Egypt ; and this will show us what religion these Egyptians carried into the countries where they removed. I have already considered, that the most ancient deities of the Egyptians, and of all other nations, when they first deviated from the worship of the true GOD, were the luminaries of Heaven³. Now, if we carry on the inquiry, and examine what farther steps they took in the progress of their idolatry, we shall find, that the Egyptians in a little time consecrated particular living creatures in honour of their sidereal deities ; and, some ages after, they took up an opinion, that their ancient heroes were become gods. This opinion arose from a belief, that the souls of such heroes were translated into some star, and so had a very powerful influence over them and their affairs.

I. The first step they took, after they worshipped the luminaries of Heaven, was to dedicate to each particular deity some living creature, and to pay their religious worship of the deity before such creature, or the image of it. This was practised in Egypt very early, evidently before the Israelites left

³ See vol. i, book v, p. 292, &c.

that country; for the Israelites had learned from the Egyptians to make the figure of a calf for the direction of their worship⁴. The most learned, who were able to give the most plausible accounts of their superstition, did not allow, that they really worshipped their sacred animals, but only that they used them as the most powerful mediums to raise in their hearts a religious sense of the deity to which they were consecrated⁵. It may be asked how they could fall into this practice, which to us seems odd and humoursome; for of what use can the figure of a beast be, to raise in men's minds ideas of even the sidereal deities? To this I answer, their speculation and philosophy led them into this practice. When men had deviated from that revelation, which was to have been their only guide in points of religion, they quickly fell from one fancy to another; and after they came to think, that *the lights of Heaven were the gods that governed the world*, they, in a little time, apprehended that these gods had made the living creatures of the Earth more or less partakers of their divinity and perfections, that they might be the instruments of conveying a knowledge of them

⁴ Exod. xxxii.

⁵ Αγαπήτεον ἐν ὧ ταῦτα τιμῶντας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων το θεῖον, ὡς ἐναργεσεῖρων ἐσοπτῶν καὶ φύσει γεγρονότων. Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride, p. 382. In which words the learned heathen gives a more refined and philosophical reason for the Egyptian image worship than the Papists can possibly give of theirs.

to men⁶; and men of the nicest inquiry and speculation made many curious observations upon them, which seemed highly to favour their religious philosophy. After the worship of the Moon was established, and the increase and decrease of it superstitiously considered, by men who had no true philosophy, the dilatation and contraction of the pupilla of a cat's eye seemed very extraordinary. Plutarch gives several reasons why the Egyptians reputed a cat to be a sacred animal; but that formed from the contraction and dilatation of the pupil of its eye, seems to have been the first and most remarkable⁷. This property of that creature was thought strongly to intimate, that it had a more than ordinary participation of the influence of the lunar deity, and was by nature made capable of exhibiting lively representations of its divinity unto men, and was therefore consecrated and set apart for that purpose. The asp and the beetle became sacred upon the same account; they thought they saw in them some faint images of the

⁶ Ἡ δὲ ζῶσα καὶ βλέψα καὶ κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχουσα, καὶ γινώσκει οἰκείων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων φύσεις, ἐσπᾶκεν ἀπορροήν καὶ μοῖραν ἐκ τοῦ φρονεῖντος, ὅπως κυβερνᾶται τὸ, τε συμπαν. ὁθεν ὁ χειρὸν ἐν ταῖς εἰκαζέται τὸ θεῖον ἢ χαλκείοις καὶ λίθινοις δημιουργήμασιν—περὶ μὲν ἐν τῶν τιμωμένων ζῶων ταῦτα δοκιμαζῶ μάλιστα τῶν λεγόμενων. Plut. de Iside et Osiride, p. 382.

⁷ Αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῆς κοραὶ πληροῦσθαι μὲν καὶ πλατύνεσθαι δοκῶσιν ἐν πανσελήνῳ, λεπτύνεσθαι δὲ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν ταῖς μειώσεσι τοῦ ἀστροῦ. τῷ δὲ ἀνθρωπομορφῶ τῷ αἰσθεῖ τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογικὸν ἐμφαίνεται τῶν περὶ τὴν Σελήνην μεταβολῶν. Id. ibid. p. 376.

divine perfections, and therefore consecrated them to the particular deities, whose qualities they were thought to exhibit⁸. Now this practice of reputing some animals sacred to particular gods was the first addition made to their idolatry, and the reason I have given seems to have been the first inducement which led them into it. In later ages, more animals became sacred than were at first thought so; and they paid a more religious regard to them, and gave more in number and more frivolous reasons for it; but this was the rise and beginning of this error.

II. Some ages after, they descended to worship heroes or dead men, whom they canonized. That they acknowledged many of their gods to be of this sort is very evident from the express declaration of their priests, who affirmed, that they had the bodies of these gods embalmed and deposited in their sepulchres⁹. The most celebrated deities they had of this sort were Chronus, Rhea, Osiris, Orus, Typhon, Isis, and Nephthe; and these persons were said to be deified upon an opinion, that, at their death, their souls migrated into some star, and became the animating spirit of some luminous and heavenly body. This the Egyptian priests

⁸ Ασπίδα δε και γαλήνην και κανθαρον, εικονας τινας εαυτοις αμαυρας ωσπερ εν σαγοςιν ηλυσ της των θεων δυναμειωσ κατιδοντες. Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

⁹ Ου μόνον δε τῶτων οἱ ἱερεῖς λεγῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀγεννητοὶ μὴδὲ ἀσθάρτοι, τὰ μὲν σῶματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεισθῆναι καμόντα καὶ θεραπευεσθῆναι. Id. ibid.

expressly asserted¹, and this account almost all the ancient writers give of these gods: thus it was recorded in the Phœnician antiquities, that Chronus, or Saturnus, was after his death made a god, by becoming the star of that name². This opinion was communicated from nation to nation, and prevailed in all parts of the heathen world, and was evidently received at Rome at Julius Cæsar's death, who was canonized upon the account of the appearance of a comet or a luminous body for seven days together, at the time when Augustus appointed the customary games in honour of him³. The phenomenon which then appeared was thought to be the star into which he passed at his leaving this world, and was accordingly called by Virgil *Dionæi Cæsaris Astrum*⁴, and by Horace *Julium Sidus*⁵. An opinion of this sort appears to have prevailed among the Arabians at the time of our Saviour's birth, when the Eastern Magi came to worship him, convinced of his divinity by an evidence of it which God was pleased to give them in their own way, from their having seen his star in the East⁶. Let us now see,

III. When the Egyptians first consecrated these hero gods, or deified mortals. To this I answer, Not before they took notice of the appearance of

¹ Τας δε ψυχας λαμπειν αstra. Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

² Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

³ Suetonius, Hist. Cæsar. lib. i, ad fin.

⁴ Eclog. ix, ver. 47.

⁵ Od. xii, lib. i.

⁶ Matth. ii, 2.

the particular stars which they appropriated to them. Julius Cæsar was not canonized until the appearance of the Julium Sidus; nor could the Phœnicians have any notion of the divinity of Chronus until they made some observations of the star into which they imagined he was removed. And this will at least inform us when five of the seven ancient hero gods of the Egyptians received their apotheosis. The Egyptians relate a very remarkable fable of the birth of these five gods⁷. They say that Rhea lay privately with Saturn, and was with child by him; that the Sun, upon finding out her baseness, laid a curse upon her, that she should not be delivered in any month or year; that Mercury, being in love with the goddess, lay with her also, and then played at dice with the Moon, and won from her the seventy-second part of each day, and made up of these winnings five days, which he added to the year, making the year to consist of three hundred and sixty five days, which before consisted only of three hundred and sixty; and that in these days Rhea brought forth five children, Osiris, Orus, Typho, Isis, and Nephthé. We need not inquire into the mythology of this fable; what I remark from it is this, that the fable could not be invented before the Egyptians had found out that the year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days, and consequently, that by their own accounts, the five deities said to be born on

⁷ Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

the five *επαγομεναι*, or additional days, were not deified before they knew that the year had these five days added to it. Now this addition to the year was first made about the time of Assis, who was the sixth of the Pastor kings who reigned in Egypt; and it was towards the end of his reign^{*}, *i. e.* A. M. 2665, a little after the death of Joshua. Had Osiris, Orus, Typho, Isis, and Nephthe been esteemed deities before this additional length of the year was apprehended, we should not have had this but some other fabulous account of their birth transmitted to us. But from this account one would think, that the Egyptian astronomers had about this time remarked the appearance of five new stars in their horizon, of which their predecessors had taken no notice; and as Julius Cæsar was reported a god from the appearance of the Julium Sidus, so these five persons being the highest in esteem among the Egyptians of all their famous ancestors, might be deified, and the five new appearing stars be called by their names; and the observation of these stars being first made about the time when the length of the year was corrected, this piece of mythology took its rise from them. It is indeed asserted in the fable, that these five deities were born at this time; but we must remember, that the relation is a fable; and Plutarch well remarks, just upon his giving us this story, that we must not take the Egyptian fables

^{*} Syncell. p. 123; Marsham, Can. Chron. p. 235.

about their gods to relate matters of fact really performed, for that was not the design of them⁹. All that this fable can reasonably be supposed to hint is, that the five stars called by these names were first observed by their astronomers about the time when the addition of five days was made to the year; consequently, that the heroes and heroines, whose names were given to these stars, were first worshipped as deities about this time. We are not to infer hence, that these persons were born of Rhea, as the fable relates, nor that Mercury and Luna really played at dice, as is fabulously reported. Isis seems at first to have been reputed the star, which the Greeks called the Dog Star, the Egyptians Sothis¹; and this they expressed on a pillar erected to her². Orus was the star called Orion, and Typho the Bear Star³. Afterwards, the names both of these and their other gods were very variously used, and applied to very different powers and beings.

The Egyptians had other hero gods besides these five; they had eight persons whom their chronology called demigods. Diodorus gives them these names, Sol, Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vul-

⁹ Όταν εν α μυθολογισιν Αιγυπτιοι περι των θεων ακροσης, δει των προειρημενων μνημονευειν, και μηδεν οισθαι τωτων λεγεσθαι γεγονος ετω και πεπραγμενον. Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

¹ Id. *ibid*.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. i. Part of the inscription on the pillar is, Έγω ειμι η εν τω Αστρω τω κυνι επιτελλουσα.

³ Plut. *ubi snp*.

canus, Vesta, Mercurius⁴; and their historical memoirs affirm, that these persons reigned in Egypt before Menes or Mizraim, and before their heroes, so that they certainly lived before the Flood⁵. They had after these a race of heroes, fifteen in number, and the persons I have been speaking of are five of them⁶, and these must likewise have been antediluvians⁷. But I do not suppose they were deified until about this time of the correcting of the year; for, when this humour first began, it is not likely that they made gods of men who were just dead, of whose infirmities and imperfections many persons might be living witnesses. They rather took the names of their first ancestors, whom they had been taught to honour for ages, whose fame had been growing by the increase of tradition, and all whose imperfections had been so long buried, that it might be thought they never had any. It has always been the humour of men to look for truly great and unexceptionable characters in ancient times. Nestor frequently tells the Greeks, in Homer, what sort of persons lived when he was a boy; and they were easily admitted to be far superior to the greatest and most excellent then alive. Had he been three times as old as he was, he might have almost deified his heroes; but it is hard to be conceived, that a set of men could ever be chosen by their contemporaries to have divine honours paid them, whilst numerous

⁴ Lib. i, sec. 13.

⁵ See vol. i, book i, p. 19.

⁶ Diodorus Sic. lib. i.

⁷ See vol. i, book i, p. 19.

persons were alive who knew their imperfections, and who themselves, or their immediate ancestors, might have as fair a pretence, and come in competition with them. Alexander the Great had but ill success in his attempt to make the world believe, that he was the son of Jupiter Ammon; nor could Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome, make Romulus's translation to Heaven so firmly believed, as not to leave room for subsequent historians to report, that he was killed by his subjects⁸. Nor can I conceive, that Julius Cæsar's canonization, though it was more politically contrived, and supported with more specious and popular appearances, would ever have stood long indisputable, if the light of Christianity had not appeared so soon after this time as it did, and impaired the credit of the heathen superstition. The fame of deceased persons must have ages to grow up to Heaven; and divine honours cannot be given with any show of decency, but by late posterity. Plutarch⁹ observes, that none of the Egyptian deities were persons so modern as Semiramis; for that neither she among the Assyrians, nor Sesostri in Egypt, nor any of the ancient Phrygian kings, nor Cyrus among the Persians, nor Alexander the Great, were able, though they performed the greatest actions, to raise themselves to higher glory than that of being famous and illustrious princes and commanders; and he remarks from Plato, that whenever any of

⁸ Dionys. Halicar. lib. ii, c. 56.

⁹ Lib. de Iside et Osiride.

them affected divinity, they sunk instead of raising their character by it. Their story was too modern to permit them to be gods. Euemerus Messenius in Plutarch is reported to have written a book to prove that the ancient gods, of the heathen world, had been only their ancient kings and commanders. But Plutarch thought he might be sufficiently refuted, by reviewing all the ancient history, and remarking, that the most early kings, though of most celebrated memory, had not ever attained divine honours. Plutarch himself thought that these gods had been genii, of a power and nature more than mortal. The truth seems to have been this; they were their antediluvian ancestors, of whom they had had so little true history, and such enlarged traditions and broken stories, that they thought them far superior to their greatest kings, of whose lives and actions they had more exact accounts.

It may perhaps be said, that if these hero-gods lived so many ages earlier than this supposed time of their being canonized, why should we not imagine that they were deified sooner? or, since eight of them, namely the demi-gods, are thought more ancient than the rest, and Chronus and Rhea, two of them, are fabled to be parents of some of the others, why should they be supposed to be all deified at this one particular time, and not rather some in one age and some in another? All I can offer towards answering these queries is, 1. I conclude from the fable related by Plutarch, that

Osiris, Orus, Isis, Typho, and Nephthe, mentioned in it, were not deified before the addition of the five days to the ancient year; because the whole fable and the birth of these deities is founded upon the addition of those days. 2. We shall see reason hereafter to conclude, that no nation but the Egyptians, not even those who received their religion from Egypt, worshipped hero-gods, even so early as these days. 3. We have no reason to think that the number of their gods of this sort was very great; I cannot see reason to think they had any more besides what I have mentioned, except Anubis, who was contemporary with Osiris¹, so that they had only fourteen demi-gods and hero-gods, taking the number of both together, and thus many they might well deify at one time. If these gods had been canonized at different times, and in different ages, there would have been a greater number of them; but all that the ingenuity of succeeding ages performed was only to give these gods new names. Thus Osiris, and sometimes Typhon, and sometimes the Sun, was called in after ages Serapis, and Orus was called Apollo, and Harpocrates. 4. Osiris, said to be born when the five days were added to the year, is reputed to be one of the most ancient of the Egyptian gods, and therefore sometimes taken for the Sun; so that this hero seems to have been deified as early as any², and therefore most probably he and all the

¹ Diodor. lib. i, sec. 18.

² Ibid. sec. 17.

rest about the time I have mentioned. 5. About this time lived the second Mercury, who was the thirty-fifth king of Thebes, called Siphos and Hermes for his great learning, and for being the restorer and improver of the arts and sciences first taught by the ancient Hermes or Thyoth. It was, perhaps, he who found out the defect in their ancient computation of the year. Strabo says this was first found out by the Theban priests³; and he adds, that they make Mercury (meaning undoubtedly this second Mercury) the author of this knowledge⁴, for the first Mercury lived ages before the length of the year was so far understood. And I think we cannot conjecture any thing more probable, than that, as Syphis, soon after Abraham's time, built the errors of the Egyptian religion upon his astronomy, so this prince, upon his thus greatly improving that science, introduced new errors in theology by this same learning. The one taught to worship the luminaries of Heaven, thinking them instinct with a glorious and divine spirit; the other carried his astronomy to a greater height than his predecessors had done. He apprehended that some stars were of a more benign influence to his country than others, and taught that the souls of some of their most famous ancestors lived and governed in them; from whence arose the opinion of Indigetes, *Θεοὶ πατρώοι*, or deities peculiarly propitious to particular countries, of

³ Strabo, lib. xvii, p. 816.

⁴ Id. *ibid*.

which we have frequent mention in ancient writers, and which spread universally by degrees into all the heathen nations. Philo Biblius mentions Taautus as a person who framed⁵ a great part of the Egyptian religion; and, most probably, what he hints at was done by this second Taautus, Thoth, or Hermes; and the additions he made to the religion of his ancestors, seem, from Philo, to relate to what I have ascribed to him. Herodotus⁶ seems to hint that the Egyptians had at first only eight of these gods, that in time they made them up twelve, and afterwards imagined that these twelve had been the parents of other gods. If any one thinks it most probable, that Sol, Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, Mercurius (these being the eight terrestrial deities which Diodorus Siculus mentions as the first hero-gods, which the Egyptians worshipped); I say, if any one thinks it most probable that Siphos canonized these, and that the five deities, said to be born of Rhea, were deified later; and that a story was made upon the five additional days, not at the time of their being first found out, but many years after; and that afterwards they still added to the number of their gods, I cannot pretend to affirm that this opinion is to be rejected. For I must confess that all we can be certain of in this matter is only this, that the Egyptians did not worship hero-gods before the time of the second Mercury;

⁵ Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

⁶ Lib. ii. c. 145.

and that Osiris, Isis, Orus, Typho, and Nephthe, were not deified before the five days were added to the Egyptian accounts of the year. Yet I think it most probable, from what is hinted about the inventions of Siphos, or the second Mercury, that he began and completed the whole system of this theology; perhaps he did not begin and perfect it at once, he might be some years about it, and thereby occasion some of these gods to be deified sooner than others.

IV. After the hero-deities were received, a new set of living animals were consecrated to them; and cyphers and hieroglyphic characters were invented to express their divinity and worship. The bull called Apis was made sacred to Osiris⁷, and likewise the hawk⁸: the ass, crocodile, and sea-horse, were sacred to Typho⁹: Anubis was said to be the dog-star, and the dog was sacred to him¹; and a very religious regard was paid to this animal, until Cambyzes killed the Apis². After that, some of the flesh of Apis being thrown to the dogs, and they readily attempting to eat it, they fell under great censure, for desiring to profane themselves by eating the flesh of so sacred an animal³; but this accident did not happen until about A. M. 3480. The serpent or dragon was consecrated to Nephthe⁴, and other suitable animals to other

⁷ Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride.

⁸ Id. *ibid*,

² See Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, b. iii.

³ Plutarch. *ubi sup*.

⁶ Id. *ibid*,

¹ Id. *ibid*.

⁴ Id. *ibid*,

gods. All this seems to have been the invention of Taautus, for so Philo represents it, making him the author of the divinity of the serpent⁵, or dragon, which was sacred to Nephthe; and also hinting, that he invented the hieroglyphic characters, for which the Egyptians were so famous⁶, taking his patterns from the animals which had been consecrated to the luminaries of Heaven. Philo does not sufficiently distinguish the first Hermes or Taautus from the second, but ascribes some particulars, which were true of the first Mercury only, to the person he speaks of. Yet what he hints about the sacred animals and hieroglyphics must be ascribed to the second Mercury; for if, as I have formerly observed⁷, the religion of the Egyptians was not corrupted in the days of Abraham, the first Taautus must be dead long before the sacred animals were appointed. And I may here add that hieroglyphics were not in use in his days, for the pillars upon which he left his memoirs, were inscribed, not in hieroglyphics, but *ιερογραφικοις γραμμασι*, in the sacred letters, in letters which were capable of being made use of by a translator, who turned what was written in these letters out of one language into another⁸. The

⁵ Την μεν εν δρακοντος φυσιν και την οφειν αυτος εξεθειασεν ο Τααυτος, και μετ' αυτον Φοινικες τε και Αργυπτιοι. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

⁶ Τααυτος μιμησαμενος τον Ουρανον, των θεων οφεις, Κρονον τε και Δαγωνος και των λοιπων διευτυπωσεν και της ιερης των σοιχειων χαρακτηρας. Id. ibid.

⁷ Vol. i, b. v, p. 283.

⁸ See vol. i, b. iv, p. 218.

hieroglyphical inscriptions of the Egyptians are pretty full of the figures of birds, fishes, beasts, and men, with a few letters sometimes between them. Now this alone is sufficient to hint to us, that they could not come into use before the animals, represented in inscriptions of this sort, were become, by allegory and mythology, capable of expressing various things, by their having been variously used in the ceremonies of their religion.

It may perhaps be said that the Egyptians had two sorts of hieroglyphics, as Porphyry⁹ has accurately observed, calling the one sort *ιερογλυφικα κοινολογουμενα κατα μιμησιν*, i. e. hieroglyphics communicating their meaning to us by an imitation of the thing designed; and the other sort, *συμβολικα αλληγορουμενα κατα τινας αιγιμους*, i. e. figures conveying their meaning by alluding¹ to some intricate mythologies. Perhaps it may be thought, that this latter sort of hieroglyphics were probably invented about the times I am treating of, but that the former were in use long before; and being nothing else but a simple representation of things, by making their pictures or imitations, might be perhaps the first letters used by men. But to this I answer, 1. We have no reason to think that these hieroglyphics were so ancient as the first letters. 2. They would be but a very

⁹ In lib. de Vit. Pythag. p. 12.

¹ These hieroglyphics were something like Pythagoras's precepts, they expressed one thing, but meant another. Plut. lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 354.

imperfect character ; many, nay most occurrences could be represented by them only by halves. The Egyptians intermingled letters with their hieroglyphics, to fill up and connect sentences, and to express actions; and the first men must have had letters as well as pictures, or their pictures could have hinted only the ideas of visible objects; but there would have been much wanting in all inscriptions to give their full and true meaning. 3. This picture character would have been unintelligible, unless men could be supposed to delineate the forms or pictures more accurately than can well be imagined. The first painters and figure drawers performed very rudely, and were frequently obliged to write underneath what their figures and pictures were, to enable those who saw them to know what was designed to be represented by them. The Egyptians drew the forms of their sacred animals but imperfectly, even in later ages; and I cannot doubt, but if we could see what they at first delineated for a bull, a dog, a cat, or a monkey, it would be difficult to tell which figure might be this or that, or whether any of their figures were any of them. Therefore to help the reader, they usually marked the Sun and Moon, or some other characters, to denote what god the animal designed was sacred to, and then it was easier to guess, without mistake, what the picture was, and what might be intended by it. Now something like this the men of the most ancient times must have done, for they cannot be supposed to be able to paint

well enough to make draughts expressive of their meaning. They might invent and learn a rude character much sooner than they could acquire art enough to draw pictures; and therefore it is most probable, that such a character was first invented and made use of. But, 3. Porphyry did not mean by the expression *κοινολογουμενα κατὰ μιμησιν*, that the characters he spoke of imitated the forms or figures of the things intended by them; for that was not the *μιμησις*, which the ancient writers ascribed to letters. Socrates gives us the opinion of the ancients upon this point, namely, that letters were like the syllables of which words were compounded, and expressed an imitation, for he uses that word (not of the figure or picture, but), of the *ουσια* or substance, power or meaning of the thing designed by them². Thus he makes letters no more the pictures of things than the syllables of words are. The ancients were exceedingly philosophical in their accounts of both words and letters. When a word or a sound was thought fully to express, according to their notions, the thing of which it was designed to be the name, then they called it the *εικων* or picture of that thing. They apprehended that a word could not be completely expressive, unless it was compounded of letters well chosen to give it a sound suitable to

² Ὁ δια τῶν συλλαβῶν τε καὶ γραμμάτων τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπομιμαμενός — τὸτο δ' εἰνὸν ὄνομα. Plato in Cratylus. Or in other words, he says, Δηλωμα συλλαβαῖς καὶ γραμμασι ὄνομα ἐστὶ. Ibid.

the nature of the thing designed to be expressed by it; and when a word hit their fancy entirely in these respects, then they thought that the sound and letters of it expressed, imitated, or resembled the true image of the thing it stood for. All this may be collected from several passages of Plato upon this subject³, and in this sense we must take Porphyry's expression, which will lead us to think that the letters he treats of were the Egyptian sacred letters, as I have formerly hinted from this very description of them⁴. When language consisted of monosyllables only, a single stroke, dash, or letter, might be thought as expressive of a single sound, as various letters were afterwards thought of various and compounded words, or of polysyllables. And since the *μιμησις*, or imitation, which the ancients ascribed to their letters, was an imitation relating to the expressing well the word they stood for, and not an imitation of the form or shape of the thing, we err widely from their meaning, if we suppose that their letters had been pictures or hieroglyphics, because they ascribe such a *mimesis* to them.

V. It was customary in Egypt, in very ancient

³ Ουκεν ο μεν αποδιδως παντα καλα τα γραμματα—ωσπερ ενταις ζωγραφημασι—και τας εικονας αποδιδωσιν. 'Ο δε η προσιδεις η αφαιρων γραμματα, εικονας μεν εργαζεται και υτος, αλλα πονηρας—ωσπερ και δεκα, η οσις βηλει αλλος αριθμος, εαν αφελης τι η προσδης, ετερος ευδus γεγouνε.—Ει μελλει καλως κεισθαι το ονομα, τα προσηκοντα δει αυτω γραμματα εχειν. See Plat. Cratyl. edit. Ficini, p. 295, 296, 297, &c.

⁴ See vol. i, book iv, p. 218.

times, to call eminent and famous men by the names of their gods. This Diodorus Siculus informs us of, who, after his account of the celestial deities, adds, that they had men of great eminence, some of whom were kings of their country, and all of them benefactors to the public by their useful inventions. Some of these they called by the name of their celestial deities⁵, in which number he reckons the persons called Sol, Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, Mercurius; intimating indeed that these were not their Egyptian names, but only equivalent to them. The Egyptians in the beginning of their idolatry worshipped the Sun and Moon, and in a little time the elements, the *vis vivifica* of living creatures, the fire, air, earth, and water⁶. Perhaps the wind might be the eighth deity, for they distinguished the wind and air from one another, and took them to be two different things⁷; and as the Assyrians called their kings and great men, Bel, Nebo, Gad, Azar, after the names of their gods, so did the Egyptians. Whilst they worshipped only the deities, they had only their names and titles with which to dignify illustrious men, but in after-times, when the men, who were at first called by the names of their gods, came to be deified, then the names of these men were thought honorary titles, for those who lived after them. Thus, as Osiris was called Sol, or Isis

⁵ Diodor. lib. i, sec. 13.

⁶ Ibid. sec. 10.

⁷ Wisdom, chap. xiii, ver. 2.

Luna⁸, by those who had a desire to give them the most illustrious titles and appellations, so when Osiris and Isis were reputed deities, a later posterity gave their names to famous men, who had lived later than they did. Thus the brother of Cnan or Canaan, *i. e.* Mizraim, was called Osiris⁹. I might add further; as the Assyrians called their kings sometimes by the names of two or three of their gods put together, as Nabonassar, Nebuchadnezzar¹, so the Egyptians many times gave one and the same person the names of several gods, according as the circumstances of their lives gave occasion. Thus Diodorus remarks², that the same person who was called Isis, was sometimes called Juno, sometimes Ceres, and sometimes Luna; and Osiris was at one time called Serapis, at another, Dionysius, at another, Pluto, Ammon, Jupiter, and Pan. Now as one and the same person was sometimes called by different names, so one and the same name was frequently given to many different persons, who lived in different ages. Osiris was not the name of one person only, but Mizraim was called by this name³, and so were divers kings who lived later than he did; amongst the number of whom we may, I believe, insert Sesostris. But we may see the application of these

⁸ Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 11, 12.

⁹ Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10, p. 39.

¹ Vol. i, book v, p. 300.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. i, p. 12.

³ See vol. i, book iv, p. 182.

ancient names abundantly in one particular name, which I choose as an instance, because I have frequent occasion to mention it. The reader will find other names as variously given to different persons in all parts of ancient history. Chronus was the name of the star called Saturn, and most probably some antediluvian was first called by this name; afterwards the father of Belus, Canaan, Cusb, and Mizraim, *i. e.* Moses's Ham the son of Noah was called by this name⁴. The son of this Ham, the father of Taautus, *i. e.* Mizraim himself, was called Chronus⁵. The father of Abraham was called Chronus⁶, and Abraham himself was also thus called⁷. I might observe the same of Belus, Bacchus, Pan, and of almost every other name; but abundance of instances will occur to every one who reads any of the ancient writers.

VI. The Egyptians, having first called their heroes by the names of their sidereal and elementary deities, added in time to the history of the life and actions of such heroes a mythological account of their philosophical opinions concerning the gods, whose names had been given to such heroes. This might be first done by the second Thyoth or Hermes, and to him must belong what Philo in Eusebius⁸ relates of the person of his

⁴ See vol. i, book iv, p. 181.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ See book vi, p. 27; Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10. The words are, Ταυτος ον Αιγυπτιοι Θωδ προσαγορευουσι, σοφια διενεγκων — πρωτος τα

name, that, being famous for his great parts and learning, he raised the style (as I might say) which had been used in subjects of religion, and instead of a plain way of treating these points, accommodated to the capacity of the low and vulgar people, he introduced a method more suitable to the learning which was then in esteem and reputation. Most probably he did what the same author mentions that the son of Thabion had practised upon Sanchoniatho⁸: to plain narrations of fact and history, he added mythology and philosophy. He put into a system the philosophy then in repute, concerning the stars and elements; and by inventing such fables as he thought expressive, he made a history of his system, by inserting the several parts of it among the actions of such persons as had borne the names of the sidereal or elementary deities, to whom the respective parts of his system might be applied. I might confirm all this, from numerous explications of the Egyptian fables, which Plutarch has given in his treatise upon Isis and Osiris. The ancient history of these two persons was most probably no more than this, which may be collected from Diodorus's account of them⁹. Osiris married Isis, taught men to live sociably, to

κατα την θεοσεβειαν εκ της των χυδαιων απειριας εις επιστημονικην εμπειριαν διαταξεν.

⁸ Euseb: Præp. Evang. lib. i, p. 39. The words are, Ταυτα παντα ο Θαβιωνος παις, πρωτος των απ' αιωνος γεγονοτων Φοινικων ιεροφαντης, αλληγορησας, τοις τε φυσικοις και κοσμικοις παθεσιν αναμιξας, παρεδωκε τοις οργιωσι.

⁹ Hist. lib. i.

plant trees, and to sow corn; and he not only taught one set or company of men these useful arts, but travelled up and down, far and near, instructing all who would be advised by him, leaving his domestic family or kingdom to be governed by his wife Isis, and son Taautus, whenever he went from home to instruct the neighbouring nations, or rather families. Osiris, after several useful and successful expeditions of this sort, returned home greatly honoured and esteemed by all who knew him, but upon some accident or quarrel, he is said to have been killed by Typho. Isis raised her family, fought with Typho, got her husband's body and buried it. This might be the whole account they had at first of Osiris, and all this might be true of Mizraim, the first king of Egypt; but then, this Osiris having had the names of several of their gods given to him in after-ages, all that was believed of these was added in mythology to his history. Thus Osiris, having had the name of the Moon given to him, and it being believed that the Moon completed its course in twenty-eight days; and that after the full she decreases, and is diminished by some potent cause for fourteen days together; they call the Moon Osiris, the cause of its decrease Typho, and they tell this story: that Osiris reigned twenty-eight years, and was killed by Typho, who pulled him into fourteen pieces¹. Sometimes they call the element of

¹ Plut. lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 368.

water by the name of Osiris, and from hence they raise many fables. Osiris is water, and by consequence moisture. Heat is called Apophis, and said to be the brother of Sol, or nearly related to the Sun, or fire. Jupiter is the cause of all animal or vegetable life; and the Mythos or fable runs thus: Apophis the brother of Sol made war against Jupiter, but Osiris assisted Jupiter, *i. e.* Heat would parch, dry up, and wither every thing living, but that moisture affords a supply against it². Sometimes Osiris is the river Nile, his wife Isis is the land of Egypt, which is rendered fruitful by the overflowings of that river. Orus is the legitimate child of Osiris and Isis, *i. e.* is the product of the land of Egypt, caused by the floods of the river Nile. Typho is put for heat, Nephthe is the high lands which the floods of Nile seldom reach, and is said to be Typho's wife, because they are commonly parched with heat. If the floods of Nile happen at any time to reach these high lands, then there commonly grow upon them some few water plants caused by the inundation, and these they reckon an uncommon product, and call them Anubis; and they hint all this in the following fable. They say Osiris begat of his wife Isis a legitimate child called Orus; and that he committed adultery with Nephthe the wife of Typho, and had by her the bastard Anubis³. They sometimes carry on this fable still farther,

² Plutarch, *ibid.* p. 364.

³ *Id. ibid.*

and tell us that Typho found out the adultery, killed Osiris, pulled his body into twenty-six, sometimes in twenty-eight pieces, put them into a chest, and threw them into the sea ; *i. e.* the heat and warm weather dried up the floods of the Nile, in twenty-six or twenty-eight days, and his stream was received and swallowed up in the sea, until the time that the Nile flows again. Then they say, Isis found the body of her husband Osiris, conquered Typho, *i. e.* the hot and dry weather ; and thus they go on without end of either fancy or fable. Sometimes they affirm that Typho had been a red man, and Osiris a black one ; not intending to describe the persons of either, but giving hints of some of their opinions about the elements of fire and water⁴. Osiris is sometimes the Moon, Isis the Earth, Orus the fruits of the Earth, Anubis the horizon, and Nephthe the parts of the globe which lie beneath it. Sometimes all these names are applied to stars, and the greater lights of Heaven, and correspondent fables framed to express what their philosophy dictated about them. I might enlarge here very copiously, but I would only give a specimen of what may be met with, if the reader thinks fit to pursue this subject. I am sensible, that such a theology as this must in our age appear ridiculous and extravagant : but I would remark, that it was instituted by men who were universally admired in their day for the

⁴ Plutarch. lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 364.

greatest learning. It was accounted no small attainment, for a person to be *learned in the learning of the Egyptians*; and I might add, upon what Plato and Plutarch have offered in favour and defence of the Egyptian superstitions, that if we consult history, we shall find, that there is nothing so weak, extravagant, or ridiculous, but men even of the first parts, and eminent for their natural strength of understanding, have been deceived to embrace and defend it. And from Plutarch it is abundantly evident, that they fell into these errors, not by paying too great a deference to tradition, and pretended revelation; but even by attempting to set up what they thought a reasonable scheme of religion, distinct from, or in opposition to, what tradition had handed down to them. If we look back and make a fair inquiry, we must certainly allow, that reason in these early times, without the assistance of revelation, was not likely to offer any thing but superstitious trifles; for the frame and course of nature was not sufficiently understood, to make men masters of true philosophy. It seems easy to us to demonstrate the being and attributes of God by reason, from the works of his creation; but we understand all the hints given by the inspired writers of the Old Testament, which are proper to lead us to a right sense of these things, much better than any of them were understood by the ancient philosophers of the heathen world: and by improving upon these hints, we are arrived at

truer notions of the works of GOD's hands, than they were masters of. But until men could arrive at such true philosophy, the only certain way they had to know *the invisible things of GOD, even his eternal power and Godhead*, in all ages *from the creation of the world*, was *τοῖς ποιήμασι*, i. e. *by the things which he had done*⁵; and the heathen nations *were without excuse*, because GOD had sufficiently manifested himself this way, if, instead of seeking after false philosophy, they would have attended to what he had revealed to them. They might have known *by faith, that the worlds were framed by the word of GOD, so that the things which are seen, were not made by those things which do appear*⁶; i. e. they were the works not of visible causes, but of an invisible agent. But when, instead of adhering to what had been revealed about these matters, they imagined that they might *profess themselves wise enough to find out these truths in a better manner, by reason and philosophy, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible GOD into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four footed beasts, and creeping things*⁷. They took *the lights of Heaven to be the gods, which govern the world*⁸, and believed them animated by the spirits of famous men, and consecrated birds and beasts and reptiles to them, and amassed together heaps of mythology. Now when I consider so

⁵ Rom. i, 20.⁷ Rom. i, 22, 23.⁶ Hebrews xi, 3.⁸ Wisdom xiii, 1, 2, 3, 4.

great a genius as Plutarch, gravely pronouncing, that there is nothing in them unreasonable, idle, or superstitious, but that a good and moral, or historical, or philosophical reason may be given, for every part of every fable⁹; I see plainly, that if God had not been pleased to reveal himself to men in the first ages, many thousand years would have passed, before men could have acquired by reason such a knowledge of the works of God, as to obtain any just sentiments of his being or worship.

The writers of antiquities have made collections of images and pictures of the Egyptian gods, in order to get the best light they could into the ancient religion of this people, and F. Montfaucon has taken great pains this way. But, if I may conjecture, and none can do more in this dark and intricate subject, I suspect, that most of the figures, exhibited by the learned antiquaries for Egyptian deities, were not designed for such by those who made them. Most of those, that were designed for gods, are commonly but ill or falsely explained; and few, very few of them of great antiquity, the greatest part being evidently made after the Greeks and Romans broke in upon the Egyptians. It is indeed true, that the sculpture in most of the figures in Montfaucon's collection seems so rude and vulgar, as to intimate that they had been made in the first and most early times

⁹ Plutarch. lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 353.

of carving, before that art was brought to any neatness or appearance of perfection. But the rudeness of the sculpture is no proof of the antiquity of Egyptian images; for Plato expressly tells us, that it was a rule amongst their statuary, to imitate the antique shapes of the ancient patterns, and that the carvers were by law restrained from all attempts which looked like innovation. The art of carving, being thus limited, was never carried to any perfection; but, as the same author remarks, their most modern statues were as ill-shaped, as poorly carved, and as uncouth in figure, as those of the greatest antiquity¹. However, the chief reason for thinking that the relics, which are now described as gods of Egypt, are modern, is, that most of them are of human shape; and we find by universal consent of all good writers, that the ancient Egyptian images were not of this sort. As they had sacred animals dedicated to their several gods, so the images of these were their idols. A hawk was their ancient image for Osiris, a sea horse for Typho, a dog for Mercury, a cat for the Moon, and in the same manner other images of animals for other deities²; and this introduced a practice analogous to it, even in their pictures and statues of men. As they represented their deities by the figures of such animals as they thought exhibited some shadows of their divine qualities or operations; the Moon by a cat, be-

¹ Plato de Legibus, lib. ii, p. 789.

² Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride.

cause a cat varies its eye, in their opinion, according to the various phases of the Moon; so they drew or carved men, in figures which might represent, not their visage, shape, or outward form, but rather their qualities or peculiar actions. Thus a sword was the known representation of Ochus³, a scarabæus was the picture of a courageous warrior⁴; and we may observe, that the priests of Egypt in Ptolemy Soter's time⁵, about A. M. 3700, were so little acquainted with sculptures of human form, that they could form no conjectures about the Colossus which was brought from Sinope, but by considering the figures of the animals which were annexed to it. Strabo expressly tells us, that the Egyptian temples had no images, or none of human form, but the image of some animal, which represented the object of their worship; and he recounts the several animals, whose figures were the respective idols of particular cities⁶; for some cities paid their worship before the images of some animals, and some before those of others. Pausanias says, that Danaus dedicated Λυκιον Ἀπολλωνα, perhaps an image to Apollo, in the shape of a wolf⁷. He remarks, that the statue which was in the temple of

³ Οὕτως ἐν τῷ καταλογῷ τῶν βασιλέων εἰ κυρίως ἔφηε τὴν ἑστῖαν αὐτῆς σημαινόντες, ἀλλὰ τὴ τροπὴ τὴν σκληροτητα καὶ κακίαν ὀργανῷ φονικῷ παρειαζόντες . . . Plutarch. et Iside et Osiride.

⁴ Id. *ibid.*

⁵ Id. *ibid.*

⁶ Strabo. *Geograph. lib. xvii.*

⁷ Pausan. in *Corinth. lib. ii, c. 19.*

this deity, when he wrote, was not that which Danaus had made; but was the workmanship of a more modern hand, namely of Attalus the Athenian. In Attalus's days, the images of the gods might be made in the human form; but it is more agreeable to Strabo's observation, to think that the most ancient Delubra had either no image at all, or the image of some beast, for the object of worship⁸. The Israelites, about the time of Danaus, set up a calf in the wilderness, of which sort was most probably the wooden statue, which Danaus erected to Apollo; and perhaps from a statue of this sort the ancient Argives stamped their coin with a wolf's head⁹. F. Montfaucon has given the figures of several small Egyptian statues swathed from head to foot like mummies, which discover nothing but their faces, and sometimes their hands¹; which I think can never be taken for Egyptian deities. Plutarch informs us, that they delineated their judges and magistrates in this dress², so that these were probably the images of deceased persons, who had borne those offices. We have several representations in the draughts of the same learned antiquary, which are said to be Isis holding, or giving suck, to the boy Orus³; but it should be

⁸ Strabo. lib. xvii, p. 805.

⁹ Marsh. Can. p. 125.

¹ See Montfaucon, *Antiq.* vol. ii, part ii, b. i, plate xxxvii, fig. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; plate xxxviii, fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

² *Lib. de Iside et Osiride*, p. 355.

³ Montfaucon. *ubi sup.* plate xxxvi, fig. 3; plate xxxvii, fig. 11; plate xxxviii, fig. 9, 10, 11.

remarked, that Orus was not represented by the Egyptians in the figure of a new-born child. For Plutarch expressly tells us, that a new born child was the Egyptian picture of the Sun's rising⁴; and if so, why may we not suppose, that these figures were the monuments of some eminent astronomers? They might be represented with the faces and breasts of women, to signify, that the observations, which they had made, had been the cause of great plenty. They have commonly some plant sprouting and flourishing upon their heads; which, probably, if well explained, would instruct us, what part of agriculture or planting was improved by the benefit of their learned observations. One of them has the head of a cow, and a bird's head upon that⁵; but I think we are not to guess from hence, that the Egyptians had received the Greek fable about Io, as the learned antiquary suggests; but that the person hereby represented was so eminent, that he had the names of two deities given to him. As Daniel obtained such reputation in the court of Babylon, as to have a name given him, compounded of the names of two of their deities, namely Belteshazzar⁶; so this person, whoever he was, was so eminent in Egypt,

⁴ Lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 355. Orus, when, in later times, images of a human form were introduced, was represented by a quite different figure.—*Ἐν Κοπτῷ το ἀγαλμα τε Ὀρη λεγουσιν εν τη ετερα χειρι Τυφωνος αἰδοια κατεχειν.*—Plut. lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 373.

⁵ Montfaucon, ubi sup. plate xxxvi, fig. 3.

⁶ Dan. i, 7; see vol. i, b. v, p. 300.

as to be called by the names of the two deities put together; the heads of whose sacred animals were for that reason put upon his statue. We meet with several figures⁷, said to be designed for Harpocrates. All these figures are representations of young men with their finger upon their mouth, as a token of their silence; but why may we not suppose these to be monuments of young Egyptian students, who died in their noviciate, or first years, whilst silence, according to the ancient discipline, was enjoined them? There are a variety of figures of this sort in various dresses, and with various symbols; all which, I imagine, might express the different attainments and studies of the persons represented by them. Jamblichus remarks, that Pythagoras, when he rejected any of his scholars, and after the five years' silence, turned them out of his school, for their defects and insufficiency, used to have statues made for them, as if they were dead⁸. This perhaps might be the ancient practice in Egypt, where Pythagoras long studied; and some of the images, which go for Harpocrates, might be Egyptian students thus dismissed their schools; and the defect of symbols and want of ornament in some of them may perhaps distinguish those of this sort from the other. Plutarch indeed hints, that in his time they had

⁷ Montfaucon, plate xl, fig. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; in plate xli, these figures are numerous.

⁸ Jamblichus de vita Pythag. c. 17.

human representations of Osiris in every city⁹; and Montfaucon gives us a figure, in some respects well answering to Plutarch's description of the statues of Osiris¹; but if that be a statue of Osiris, it must be a modern one. The ancient image of Osiris was that of a hawk², or he was sometimes represented by the picture of an eye and a sceptre³; and until later times, images and representations of him were very rare, and seldom to be met with⁴; but when he came to be represented in the human form, sculptures of him were common⁵. Montfaucon gives us the figure of an animal without ears, which he calls a Cynocephalus⁶, and supposes it to be a representation of Isis. Plutarch⁷ tells us, that the Cretans anciently represented Jupiter in this manner; and may we not suppose that this figure was an ancient Egyptian Jupiter, and that the Cretans copied after them? I might enlarge upon this subject, for I cannot help thinking, that even the animal figures, like this instance I have mentioned, are commonly decyphered amiss; and that, if the

⁹ Lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 371.

¹ Plutarch's words are, Πανταχθ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρωπομορφῶν Ὀσιριδος ἀγάλμα δεικνυσθαι ἐξορθίζον τῷ αἰδοίῳ.

² Id. ibid.

³ Id. ibid.

⁴ Id. p. 382.

⁵ Πανταχθ δεικνυσθαι, &c.

⁶ Antiq. vol. ii, part ii, plate xlii, fig. 14; see c. xvi, sec. 5.

⁷ Ἐν Κρήτῃ Διὸς ἡν ἀγάλμα μὴ ἔχον ὠτα. Lib. de Iside et Osiride, p. 381.

learned would review their accounts and collections, and take the human figures for monuments of famous men, made after the old Egyptian custom, which, according to Plutarch, was to represent not the man, but his character, station, and honours, which he attained: if the animal figures were reviewed, if the Egyptian astronomy could be examined, and it could be determined what particular stars they worshipped, and what birds, beasts, or reptiles were dedicated to them, I think, that we might obtain accounts more serviceable towards illustrating their ancient history, politics, and religion, than any yet extant. Eusebius gives hints of some ancient representations^s; but we find none, I think, which much resemble them, in the collections of our present antiquaries. Yet the heretics, who lived about Plutarch's time, in the second century, namely, Basilides, Saturninus, and Carpocras, who introduced the Egyptian symbols and figures into their religion, formed

Ἐπενόησε τῷ Κρονῷ παρασημα βασιλείας, ὀμματα τεσσαρεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων καὶ τῶν ὀπίσθιων μερῶν μερῶν· δύο ὡς ἡσυχὴ μύοντα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτερά τεσσαρεῖς, δύο μὲν ὡς ἵπταμενα, δύο δὲ ὡς υφειμένα.—τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς θεοῖς, δύο ἐκαστῶν πτερῶματα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων.—Κρονῷ δὲ παλιν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς πτερά δύο.—Αἰγυπτιοὶ Κνήφ ἐπονομαζῶσι, προσιδεασί αὐτῷ ἱερακὸς κεφαλὴν.—τὸ πρῶτον οὖν θειοτάτον [ἐστίν] ὄφις ἱερακὸς ἐχὼν μορφήν.—Οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ τὸν κόσμον γραφόντες περιφερὴ κύκλον αεροειδῆ καὶ πυρωτὸν χάρασσῶσι καὶ μέσον τεταμένον ὄφιν ἱερακομορφοῦν· καὶ τὸ παν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν Θητᾶ· τὸν μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μὲνυσσιντες, τὸν δὲ μέσον ὄφιν συνεκτικὸν τῆτον ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα σημαίνοντες. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 10.

many, much like those mentioned by Eusebius, as may be seen by consulting Montfaucon's plates of the gems called Abraxas. Whether we have now any copies, or but very few, of the truly ancient Egyptian idols; whether the greatest part of what are offered to us be not copies taken from schemes and forms more recent than even the times of Plutarch, or of Eusebius, I entirely submit to the opinion of the learned.

F. Montfaucon has given a draught of a very celebrated piece of antiquity called the table of Isis, which was a table made of brass, almost four feet long, and of pretty near the same breadth. The ground work was a black enamel, curiously filled with silver plates inlaid, which represented figures of various sorts, distinguished into several classes and compartments, and decyphered by various hieroglyphics interspersed. This table fell into the hands of a common artificer, when the city of Rome was taken and plundered by the army of Charles V, about the year 1527; and it was sold by him to Cardinal Bembo, at whose death it came to the Duke of Mantua, and was kept as a valuable rarity by the princes of that house, until the year 1630, when the town and palace of Mantua were plundered by the emperor's general, who carried off an immense treasure of curiosities, which the princes of this house had collected; and among the rest this table of Isis; the original of which, having never been found since this time, is supposed to have been broken in pieces by some person into

whose hands it might fall; who, not understanding what it was, might think the silver plates, which were inlaid, to be the only valuable parts of it, and therefore brake it for the sake of them. Pignorius gave the world a draught, and an account of this table, in a book by him published at Amsterdam, A. D. 1670; and from his draught Montfaucon has taken the copy, which he has given us. The table of Isis is said to be so called, because it represents the form and mysteries of the goddess Isis⁹; but it is remarkable, that the very writers, who express the greatest inclination to represent Isis as the chief and principal goddess, upon account of representing whom the whole table was composed, cannot but acknowledge it contained “all the divinities of Egypt of every kind; and that it might properly be called a general table of the religion and superstitions of Egypt¹. F. Montfaucon acknowledges, that no one can determine, whether this table represents some history of the Egyptian gods, or some obscure system of the religion of that country; or of the ceremonies of that religion, or some moral instruction, or many of these together. And Pignorius was so far from being confident, that he could sufficiently explain this table, that he confessed he did not fully comprehend the design of it, nor know the certain signification of its several parts; that he only pretended to venture to make some conjectures about

⁹ Montfaucon, *Antiq.* vol. i, part ii, b. ii, c. 1.

¹ *Id.* *ibid.*

it, but could not say, that he had hit the design of the composer ; that both these learned men leave room for any one to conjecture about it as they did, without incurring censure for differing from them. Now, if I may take this liberty, I suppose,

1. That this table was not made until after genuflexion was used in the worship of the heathen deities. This custom began pretty early ; the worshippers of Baal, in the time of Ahab, bowed the knees to Baal² ; and this practice of kneeling was used before this time by the true worshippers of God. Solomon kneeled down upon his knees, when he prayed at the dedication of the temple³ ; and this posture of worship is mentioned Psalm xcv, ver. 6. At what time it was first introduced into the heathen worship I cannot say ; but we find, in the border round the table of Isis, no less than nineteen persons in this posture of adoration.
2. We find no one person in this posture in the table itself : all the figures in the table are either standing, or sitting, or in a moving posture.
3. In the border, all the images that kneel are represented as paying their worship to some animal figure. There is not one instance or representation of this worship paid to an image of human form, either on the border, or in the table.
4. The several animals represented in the border, as receiving worship from their adorers, agree very nearly, both in number and shape, with the several animals described by

² 1 Kings xix, 18.

³ Chap. viii, 54 ; 2 Chron. vi, 13.

Strabo, Plutarch, Eusebius, and other writers, as the objects of worship in the several cities of Egypt⁴. 5. The human figures in the table are distinguished by the animal representation of some deity annexed to, or put over or under them. 6. There are five figures in the table of a human form described in a sitting posture, and two of them very remarkable, one of which has the head of an ibis, and the other of a hawk; but figures of the same form are represented in the border of the table on their knees, as worshipping some animal figure placed before them. The human picture with the hawk's head is represented to worship a sort of scarabeus, which with the head of the ibis is represented as worshipping the Apis, or bull. These several observations must occur to any one, who carefully views and compares the several parts of this table; and from these observations it appears most probable, 1. That the border round about the table exhibits the several sacred animals worshipped in Egypt when this table was made, with their respective priests paying worship to them. 2. The table itself represents the several priests of some of these deities in their different habits, performing not actual worship, but some other offices of their ministrations. The animal figures annexed to them point out of what particular gods they were respectively the priests; and most probably the hieroglyphics and sacred letters inscribed to each of them

⁴ Strabo, l. xvii; Plut. lib. de Iside et Osiride; Euseb. de Præp. Evang. in var. loc.; Herodot. l. ii, &c.

would tell us, if we could read them, what particular office of their ministration they are described as performing. 3. The figures delineated in the sitting posture (like figures to which are in the border represented in postures of worship to particular animals) seem to me to be designed for monuments of some eminent priests, who had images made in honour of their memory when dead; which images might perhaps upon some occasions be carried in processions, and are therefore here delineated. The ibis and hawk's head, fixed upon the shoulders of two of them, was, according to the ancient usage of representation, not the person of the men, but the dignity or honours which they attained. These two persons were honoured with the names of the gods, whose sacred symbols, or animal figures, were for that reason put upon them. 4. F. Montfaucon wanders unaccountably from the apparent meaning of this table, in supposing many of the human figures to be Isis and Osiris presenting goblets, and birds and staves to one another; when no ancient writers hint any sort of accounts, that they were ever represented as engaged in such trifling intercourses; and when all those figures may better be supposed to be different priests, employed in different offices and ministrations of their religion. 5. It does not appear from this table, that the Egyptians worshipped any idols of human shape, at the time when this table was composed; but rather, on the contrary, all the images herein represented, before which any per-

sons are described in postures of adoration, being the figures of birds, beasts, or fishes; this table seems to have been delineated, before the Egyptians worshipped the images of men and women, which was the last and lowest step of their idolatry.

From what I have offered about the several steps, which the Egyptians took in the progress of their superstitions and idolatry, it will be easy to determine what their religion was, when Cecrops, Cadmus, or Danaus left Egypt; and consequently what religion or deities these men may be supposed to have introduced into Greece. The Egyptians had dedicated sacred animals to their sidereal deities, before these men left them: all their other innovations were more modern, and consequently these men carried this practice with them into foreign countries. The Greeks, in the first days of their idolatry, worshipped, as the Egyptians did, the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Elements⁵. In after-ages they worshipped hero gods, but these not until about the time of Homer. Herodotus says expressly, that Hesiod and Homer introduced these deities⁶; I think them something earlier, but not much. The Greeks worshipped their gods without any images of any sort, until after Oenotrus the son of Lycaon led his colony into Italy⁷; and agreeably hereto, Pausanias remarks of some very ancient Delubra, which he saw at Haliartus, a city of Bœotia, that they had no sort of images⁸.

⁵ Plato in Cratylo.

⁶ Herodot. lib ii, c. 53.

⁷ See vol. i, b. 5, p. 318.

⁸ Pausan. in Bœoticis, c. 33.

Lycaon the father of Oenotrus was contemporary with Cecrops, the first of the travellers who came from Egypt into Greece⁹; and most probably Danaus, the last of them, introduced the image of a wolf, for the direction of his worship to Apollo Lycius¹; so that, from all these circumstances, it is very plain, that the images of animals were at first set up as idols in Greece, much about the time of and by the direction of these men. As the Israelites made a calf in Horeb similar to their patterns, soon after Moses had led them out of Egypt, about A. M. 2513; so about this time the Greeks were led into the same sort of idolatry, by the Egyptian travellers, who came to live amongst them. Danaus taught them to worship Apollo, *i. e.* the Sun, in the form of a wolf; and it is very probable that he gave them the images of other animals for the worship of other deities. Plutarch tells us, that the Greeks anciently made a bull for the image of Bacchus²; and the modern images of their gods, made after their heroes were deified, and human forms introduced, have commonly such symbols of birds, beasts, or fishes annexed, as to hint what their sacred animals were, whose figures were made use of in their worship, before they came to be represented by human images. The eagle was the bird of the Grecian Jupiter, the peacock of Juno, the owl of Minerva, the dolphin or sea horse was

⁹ Pausan. in Arcadicis, c. 2.

¹ Id. in Corinthiacis, c. 19.

² Plutarch in lib. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 364.

sacred to Neptune, the ram, the cock, and other animals to Mercury; and the images of these and other animals were undoubtedly made use of at first as idols in the worship of the respective deities to whom they belonged, instead of images of those deities. In later ages, when the images of their gods were made in human shapes, then the figures of their sacred animals were annexed as symbols; and so we commonly now find them, in the statues or draughts we have of these deities. As true religion was at first one and the same in all the world; which it certainly would not have been had it not been at first appointed by positive directions from God, and express revelation; so men in all nations upon earth defaced and corrupted this universal religion, by steps and degrees very much the same. Animal figures were introduced into the idolatry of most nations, and I might add inanimate ones too. The Egyptians represented Osiris by a sceptre, the Greeks anciently represented Juno by the trunk³ of a tree, and Castor and Pollux by two cross beams; and Clemens Alexandrinus remarks from Varro, that the ancient Romans, before they had learned to give to their gods human shapes, worshipped a spear instead of an image of Mars⁴.

It is generally represented, that Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus built temples in the several countries where they travelled; but this is a mistake, arising

³ See vol. i, b. v, p. 315.

⁴ Clem. Alex. Cohortat. ad Gentes, c. iv, p. 41.

from a careless reading of what the ancient writers remark concerning them. The Latin translator of Diodorus Siculus says, that Danaus built a temple to Minerva at Rhodes, and that Cadmus obliged himself by vow to build a temple to Neptune; but Diodorus himself says no such thing; his expression is, that they *ἰδρυσαντο ιερον*, not built a temple, but appointed or dedicated a place of worship. Thus the author himself explains it, by telling us how Cadmus performed his vow, *διασωθεὶς ἰδρυσάτο τεμενος*⁵; upon his being preserved, he set out a piece of ground for the place of the worship of the god who had preserved him⁶. He did something like what Jacob did at Bethel⁷, when he set up the pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it, and made a vow, that that place should be God's house. Jacob did not design to erect any building in that place; but only meant, that he would come to worship there; which the ancients in these days did, not in temples, but in groves, or at altars erected in the open air, or in spaces of ground marked out and inclosed for that purpose; and of this sort were the ancient *τεμενη* of the heathens. Temples were far more modern than the days of Cecrops, Cadmus, or Danaus. Moses observes that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,

⁵ Dio. Sic. lib. v, p. 58.

⁶ The strict and proper signification of the word *τεμενος*, derived from *τεμνω*, is, a part or portion of land separated or set apart for some sacred use.

⁷ Gen. xxviii, 18.

frequently built altars wherever they fixed their habitations ; and agreeable to this ancient practice, Eusebius says of Cecrops, that he raised an altar at Athens⁸ ; and we meet with this practice amongst the first inhabitants of Greece. They are said to have erected these βωμοι, *i. e.* altars, in all parts of their country, as it is remarked by Pausanias ; and I believe I may add, that we have not one passage in any good writer of sufficient authority to induce us to think, that there were any temples in the world before the Jewish tabernacle was erected ; or before it was known that the Jews were directed to build a temple, when they should be settled in the land of Canaan, in the place which the LORD their God should choose to cause his name to dwell there⁹. We may indeed meet with the word Ναος in Pausanias, and in Homer, and in divers other writers ; and if we always translate that word temple, as we commonly do, it may mislead us to think temples much more ancient than they really were ; but we may remark, from Pausanias, that the word Ναος was at first used, as the word *beth*, or house, in Hebrew, and did not always signify a structure or a temple, but only a place set apart for God's worship. Thus Jacob called the place where he lay down to sleep Beth-el, or the house of God¹ ; and thus the temples or Ναοι at Haliartus, mentioned by Pausanias, were open to the air ; they were only inclosures set apart for the worship

⁸ Præp. Evang. lib. x, c. 9.

⁹ Deut. xii, 11.

¹ Gen. xxviii, 22.

of their gods, but were not covered buildings or temples². When the heathen nations first built temples, they were but small and of mean figure, probably designed only to defend the image of their idol from the weather, and to lay up the instruments which were used in the performance of their sacrifices. The house of Dagon amongst the Philistines was, I believe, of this sort³; and thus we are told, that there was a small temple at Rome made in the early ages for the reception of the Trojan Penates⁴. Certainly temples made no great figure in Homer's time; for if they had, he would have given us at least one description of a temple, in some part either of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. Before Virgil's time they were built with great pomp and magnificence; and accordingly he has described Dido's building a temple⁵ to Juno at Carthage with all imaginable elegance. Homer would not have lost an opportunity of exerting his great genius upon so grand a subject, if temples had in his days made a figure which could possibly have shone in his poem. The true worshippers of God, at first worshiped in the open fields, and so did the ancient and first idolaters. Abraham set apart a place for his private addresses; he *planted a grove in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the LORD, the everlasting God*⁶; and after this pattern groves were much in use in

² Pausan. in Bæoticis, c. 33.

³ 1 Sam. v, 2.

⁴ Dionys. Halicarnass. Antiq. Rom. lib. i, c. 68.

⁵ *Æneid*. i.

⁶ Gen. xxi. 33,

all the idolatrous nations, and *τεμενη*, allotments of ground, or sacred fields or inclosures, in every country for the worship of their several gods. When the Jews were come out of Egypt, and God had appointed them a moveable temple or tabernacle, the heathen nations imitated this too. Thus we read of a portable temple or tabernacle made to Moloch⁷, and when it came to be known, that the Israelites were to build a house to their God, when they should be settled in their land; then the heathen nations began to build houses to their deities, and Dagon the god of the Philistines had a house, into which the ark of God, when it was taken in battle, was carried in the days of Eli⁸; but these houses of their gods were not large until after Solomon's time. After he had built the temple of Jerusalem, according to the pattern which David had given him⁹; foreign kings by degrees began to copy after him, and endeavoured to build temples with great splendour and magnificence; but when Solomon was to build his temple, it is evident from his own words, that the heathen temples were not near so large and magnificent as his design. *The house which I build*, said he, *is great; for great is our God above all gods*¹. His design exceeded all other plans, as the God he worshipped was superior to the heathen idols.

I am sensible that Dr. Spencer has endeavoured

⁷ Acts vii, 43.

¹ Chron. xxviii, 11, 12.

⁸ 1 Samuel v, 2.

⁹ 2 Chron. ii, 5.

to prove, that both the Jewish tabernacle and temples were erected in imitation of the places of worship made use of by the heathen nations, but whoever shall take the pains to consider what this learned writer has offered upon this subject, will be surprised that he could be satisfied with such slender proofs in favour of his opinion. But Dr. Spencer's darling hypothesis, of which what he offers about temples is only a part, is an unaccountable mistake for a writer of so great learning to fall into; and what he has produced, in the several parts of his laborious work, will abundantly convince every one, who will take the pains duly to weigh and consider the several texts of Scripture, and authorities cited by him, that no learning can sufficiently prove, that the Jewish religion was derived from the customs and practices of the heathen nations. On the contrary, most of the citations upon this subject will evidence in a much clearer manner, that a great part of the heathen ceremonies and practices was introduced into their worship and religion, in imitation of what God had by revelation appointed to his servants.

THE
SACRED AND PROFANE
HISTORY OF THE WORLD
CONNECTED.

BOOK IX.

WE left the children of Israel under difficulties in Egypt, distressed by all possible measures, which the king could take to keep them low; in which time of this affliction Moses was born. His mother hid him for three months¹; and when she could conceal him no longer, nor bear the thoughts of having him thrown into the river, she made a sort of chest, or basket, put the infant into it, and set it among the bulrushes near the bank of the river, and there left it to God's providence. The king's daughter came to the river, heard the child cry, examined the basket, and was struck with the sight of the weeping infant, and determined to preserve it. Moses's sister stood at some distance,

¹ Exodus ii.

to see what would become of him; and upon the princess being inclined to take care of him, she mixed with her attendants, and offered to procure a fit nurse for the child. The princess liked the proposal, and the girl hereupon called Moses's own mother, to whom the princess put him out to nurse. Thus, by a wonderful providence, Moses was preserved, and nursed by his own mother for a time, but afterwards taken to court, and educated there by the favour of the princess as her own son, instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians², and became a man of great eminence amongst them; was made general and leader of their armies, and fought some battles with great conduct and success³. The princess had no children, nor the king her father any male heir; and it is thought that she adopted Moses for her son, and that her father designed him to be king of Egypt⁴; but Moses declined this advancement, as a scheme

² Acts vii, 22.

³ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib, ii, c. 10.

⁴ Josephus relates, that the princess, having no child, adopted Moses, and brought him whilst a child to her father, and admiring both the beauty of his person, and the promising appearance of a genius in him, wished he would appoint him to be his successor, if she should have no children. That the king hereupon, in a pleasant humour, put his crown upon the child's head; and that Moses took it off, and laid it upon the ground, and there played with it, and turned it about with his feet. One of the priests, who attended, thought his actions ominous, and was earnest to have him killed, as a person, who would be fatally mischievous to the Egyptian crown; but the princess here again saved him from destruction, &c. See Josephus Antiq. lib. ii, c. 9.

which would deprive him and his posterity of the blessings which GOD had promised to the Hebrew nation, who were to be but strangers in Egypt for a time⁵. He had a full belief, that GOD would make good his promises to them; and *by faith he refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter*⁶. Under a full persuasion of the certainty of those things, which GOD had promised, he turned his eye and heart from the crown of Egypt to the afflictions of his brethren; and rather wished, that it would please GOD to have him lead them out of Egypt to the promised land, than to sway the Egyptian sceptre. He went among them daily, and viewed their condition, and upon seeing an Egyptian severe with one of them he killed him⁷. The next day, finding two Hebrews in contest with one another, he admonished them to consider, that they were brethren, and would have decided their quarrel, thinking, that they would consider him as a person likely to deliver them out of their bondage⁸, and that they would have submitted their difference to him. But they had no such thoughts about him; his arbitration was rejected with contempt, and one of them upbraided him with his killing the Egyptian⁹. Thus he saw, that the people were not likely to follow his directions, if he should attempt to contrive their leaving Egypt; and thinking that his violence to the

⁵ Gen. xv, 13; xlv, 4; and l, 24.

⁷ Exod. ii, 11, 12; Acts vii, 24.

⁹ Exod. ii, 14; Acts vii, 27, 28.

⁶ Heb. xi, 24.

⁸ Acts vii, 25.

Egyptian might be known to Pharaoh; and finding that his spending so much of his time among the Hebrews had made his conduct much suspected, and that the king had determined to put him to death; he therefore thought it prudent to leave Egypt, and went to Midian, to Jethro, the priest and chief inhabitant of that country, with whom he lived as keeper of his flocks, and married one of his daughters¹. Here he continued forty years. Jethro was perhaps descended from Abraham by Keturah, his second wife². Moses was forty years old when he first thought of relieving the Israelites³, and lived forty years in Midian⁴, being eighty years old⁵ when he led the Israelites out of Egypt. The exit of the children of Israel out of Egypt will appear hereafter to be A. M. 2513; so that Moses was born A. M. 2433.

Josephus relates several particulars of Moses, of which we find no hints in the books of Scripture. He has a large account of a war with the Ethiopians, in which Moses was commander of the Egyptian armies. He reports, that he besieged Saba, the capital city of Ethiopia, and took the city, and married Tharbis, the king of Ethiopia's daughter⁶. Very probably this account of Josephus might be one inducement for our English translators of the Bible to render Numbers xii, 1; *And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses, be-*

¹ Exod. ii, 21.

² Acts vii, 23.

³ Exod. vii, 7.

⁴ Josephus Antiq. lib. ii, c. 11.

⁵ Ver. 30.

⁶ Josephus Antiq. lib. ii, c. 10.

cause of the Ethiopian woman, whom he had married; for he had married an Ethiopian woman. Eusebius gives a hint about the Ethiopians, which favours this Egyptian war with them, mentioned by Josephus. He says, the Ethiopians came and settled in Egypt in the time of Amenophis⁷; and he places Amenophis's reign so as to end it about four hundred and thirty-one years after Abraham's birth, *i. e.* A. M. 2439. Now, according to this account, the Ethiopians were a new set of people, who planted themselves in the parts adjacent to Egypt much about Moses's time; and perhaps they might invade some part of Egypt, or incommode some of the inhabitants of it, and so occasion the war upon them, which Josephus mentions. According to Philostratus⁸, there was no such country as Ethiopia beyond Egypt until this migration. These people came, according to Eusebius, from the river Indus⁹, and planted themselves in the parts beyond Egypt southward, and so began the kingdom, called afterwards the Ethiopian. There are many hints in several ancient writers, which agree with this opinion, of the Ethiopians near to Egypt being derived from a people of that name in the eastern countries. Homer mentions two Ethiopian nations, one placed in the western parts, another in the eastern.

⁷ Euseb. in Chron. ad Num. 402.

⁸ In vit. Apollon. Tyanei, lib. iii, c. 20.

⁹ In Chron. ubi sup.

Αἰθιοπας τ' οἱ διχθα δεδαιαται, εσχατοι ανδρων,
Οἱ μὲν δυσσομενε Τπεριονος, οἱ δ' ανιοντος.

ODYSS. i, 23.

Strabo indeed endeavours to show, that the true meaning of this passage is generally mistaken, and that Homer did not intend by it, that there were two Ethiopian nations in parts of the world so distant as Egypt and India¹; but the remarks of other writers do, I think, determine Homer's words to this sense more clearly than Strabo's arguments refute it. Herodotus says, that there were two Ethiopian nations, and he places one of them in the eastern parts of the world, and reckons them among the Indians, and the other in the parts near Egypt². Apollonius was of the same opinion, and says, that the African Ethiopians came from India³; and he supposes them to be masters of the ancient Indian learning, brought by their forefathers from India to Ethiopia⁴. Eustathius hints, that the Ethiopians came from India⁵. Thus the Ethiopians were a people, who wandered from their ancient habitations, and settled in the parts near Egypt about the time when Moses lived; and very probably they and the Egyptians might have some contests about settling the bounds of their country, so that Egypt might not be invaded by them. Perhaps Josephus might have reason, from ancient

¹ See Strabo, Geog. lib. i, p. 29; lib. ii, p. 103.

² Herodot. lib. vii, c. 70.

³ Argonaut. lib. vi, c. 1, 4, 6.

⁴ Id. *ibid.* c. 8.

⁵ In Dionys. p. 35.

remains, to relate that Moses was engaged in accommodating this affair ; though it is evident that Josephus had added to the account some particulars which are not true. Saba, which Josephus supposes to be the capital city of Ethiopia, was a city of Arabia ; and Moses did not marry the king of Ethiopia's daughter, as Josephus supposes ; but it is easy to conjecture how Josephus was led into these mistakes. The LXX, in their translation, which Josephus was very fond of, render the land of Cush, as our English translators have done, the land of Ethiopia ; and Josephus, finding that Saba was a head city in the land of Cush, or Arabia, taking Cush, according to the LXX, to be Ethiopia, he supposed Saba to be the capital city of that country ; and perhaps finding also, that Moses married a Cushite woman (which was indeed true, for he married the daughter of Jethro, the Arabian), here he mistook again, and translating Cush Ethiopia, he married Moses to Tarbis, the king of Ethiopia's daughter.

Whilst Moses lived in Midian, he is supposed to have used the leisure, which he enjoyed there, in writing his book of Genesis, and some writers say he also wrote the Book of Job. The matters treated in both these books were indeed extremely proper to be laid before the Israelites ; for in one of them they might have a full and clear view of the history of the world, so far as they were concerned in it ; of the creation of mankind ; of their own origin ; and of the promises which God had made

to their fathers; so that it would give them the best account of their condition and expectations. And in the other they might see a very instructive pattern of patience and resignation to the will of God, in the life of a virtuous person, led from a great share of worldly prosperity into the most afflicting circumstances; and, after a due time of trial, brought back again to greater prosperity than ever. This subject was very fit to be represented to them when the Egyptian bondage pressed hard upon them; and they might want, not only to know the good things which God designed to give them, but to have also some such particular example as that of Job, to remind them to possess their souls in patience, until the time should come when God should think fit to end their troubles. But though the subject matters contained in these books may very justly be represented as very suitable to the circumstances of the Israelites at this juncture, yet I cannot find any other reason to think, that Moses wrote the Book of Job at all, or that he composed that of Genesis at this time. Some authors have supposed, that the Book of Genesis was composed last of all the five books of Moses; but as this opinion is mere conjecture, so, it must be confessed, is all that can be said about the precise time of his writing any of them. As to the Book of Job, there are many opinions among the learned about the writer of it, but none of them so well supported with arguments as to leave no room to doubt in our admitting it. What seems

most probable is, that Job himself, who could best tell all the circumstances of his condition, and of what passed in the conferences, which he had with his friends, did some time before he died leave a written account of it; but that the book of Job, which we now have, is not the very account which was written by Job; but that some inspired writer, who lived later than his days, composed it from the memoirs left by him. The greatest part of the present book of Job is written in verse; and I suppose no one will imagine, that poetry was attempted so early as the days of Job. Some later hand must have put what Job left into the measure, which was thought suitable to such a subject; but whether this was done by the hand of Moses, or Solomon, or some other of the inspired writers of the Old Testament, no one can determine; though I think it seems most probable, that it was not done so early as the days of Moses.

St. Jerome informs us⁶, that the verse of the Book of Job is heroic. From the beginning of the book to the third chapter, he says, is prose; but from Job's words, *Let the day perish wherein I was born*⁷, &c. unto these words, *Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes*⁸, are hexameter verses, consisting of dactyls and spondees, like the Greek verses of Homer, or the Latin of Virgil. Marianus Victorius, in his note upon this passage of St. Jerome, says, that he has examined

⁶ Præfat. in Lib. Job.

⁷ Job iii, 3.

⁸ Chap. xlii, 6.

the Book of Job, and finds St. Jerome's observation to be true. I have endeavoured myself to make trial, but cannot say, that I find the experiment answers exactly to their account. I cannot make the words run into hexameter verses only, but rather think that every other line is a pentameter. If the Reader will put the Hebrew words into Latin characters, making due allowance for the difficulty of expressing the Hebrew sounds in our letters, he may perhaps admit, that the 3d, 4th, and part of the 5th verse of the third chapter of Job, to the end of these words, *Let darkness and the shadow of death stain it*, runs, in the following words, according to the measure subjoined under them.

Jobad Jom ivvalæd bo ve ha Lailah Amar

- - - - - v v - v - -

Carah gaber haijom hahua jehi choshek

- v v - - - v v - v -

Al jidreshu eloah Mimmal ve al topan alaiv

- - - v v - - - - - v v - -

Nahrah jegalhu choshek vetzlemaveh teshecon

- v v - v v - - v v - v v -

I cannot be positive, that I have exactly hit the true spelling of the Hebrew words, though I cannot be far from it; and I think, that I could so write what follows in the Book of Job, as to make it fall into this sort of verse and measure; and the experiment would, I believe, succeed always in like manner, if tried anywhere with the words in this book, beginning with chap. iii, 3, and ending at chap. xlii, 7; only the several sentences, which

direct us to the several speakers ; such as these, *Moreover, the LORD answered Job, and said,* chap. xl, 1 ; *Elihu also proceeded, and said,* chap. xxxvi, 1 ; *Elihu spake moreover, and said,* chap. xxxv, 1 ; *Then Job answered, and said,* chap. xxiii, 1. All these, and such other sentences as these, which occur in many places, to inform us who is the speaker, or to connect different speeches and argumentations, are in prose, and not in verse. At what time this sort of verse began is very uncertain ; but, perhaps, not altogether so early as the days of Moses. Heroic verse was written with great exactness in the time of Homer ; and the measure was then adjusted to a greater strictness than obtained when this book of Job was composed. For St. Jerome very justly remarks, that the verses in the Book of Job do not always consist of dactyls and spondees, but that other feet frequently occur instead of them ; and that we often meet in them a word of four syllables⁹, instead of a dactyl or spondee, and that the measure of the verses frequently differs in the number of the syl-

⁹ Propter linguæ idioma crebro recipiunt alios pedes, non earundem syllabarum, sed eorundem temporum. *Hieron. Prefat. in Lib. Job.* Ego inveni — esse in Job hexametros versus ex spondæo, dactylo, et aliis pedibus, ut trochæo, iambo, et proceleusmatico currentes: non enim syllabarum, sed temporum in iis habetur ratio, ut, scilicet, duæ breves pro unâ syllabâ longâ ponantur; nam et proceleusmaticum, hoc est, quatuor breves pro dactylo, qui ex unâ longâ et duabus brevibus constat, poni omnes sciunt, quod eadem ratione in spondæo etiam fit apud Job. *Marian. Victor. Not. in Prefat. Hieron. in Lib. Job.*

lables of the several feet; but allowing two short syllables to be equal to one long one, the sums of the measure of the verses are always the same. This incorrectness of measure evidently hints, that this poem is much more ancient than Homer; for before his time this liberty was laid aside. The mixture of the short verses agrees very well with Horace's observation,

Versibus impariter junctis querimonia primum¹.

Melancholy accidents, and unfortunate calamities, were at first the peculiar subjects treated of in this sort of verse; but as we know not who was the inventor of elegiac verse², so we cannot guess from hence at what time to fix the composing this elegiac poem.

It will perhaps be said, that we are so uncertain about the true pronounciation of the Hebrew tongue, and that the same Hebrew word may be so differently written in our modern letters, according to the fancy of the writer, that it is pretty easy to make a Hebrew sentence fall into any measure, and bear the resemblance of any sort of verse, which we have a mind to call it. But to this I answer, any one, who makes the experiment, will not find this to be true. Let any one try to reduce the words

¹ Horat. Lib. de Arte Poeticâ.

² Quis tamen exiguos elegos emisit auctor
Grammatici certant, et adhuc sub judice lis est.

Hor. de Art. Poet. v. 77.

of the song of Moses³ to this measure of the verse in Job, or let him try to reduce the song of Deborah and Barak⁴, and any part of Job, to one and the same measure, and he will presently see an irreconcilable difference in the structure of the words and syllables, sufficient to convince him, that any Hebrew sentence cannot be made appear to be any verse, according to the fancy of the reader. Upon the whole, in the Book of Job the words fall so naturally into the measures I have hinted, and the short verse so commonly ends a period in sense, that though I cannot deny but that any other person, who might take a fancy to write over any number of the verses in Job in our letters, might probably spell the words differently, nay, and perhaps sometimes measure the particular feet of some verses differently from me, yet still I am apt to think, that no one could bring the whole, or a considerable part of the book to bear so remarkable an appearance of this measure as it evidently may be made to exhibit, if it really were not a poem of this sort; especially when other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, which are not of this composure, can by no way of writing be reduced to seem to have such a resemblance. However, I can by no means pretend to any thing more than conjecture upon so nice a subject. St. Jerome has given a hint; and I have endeavoured to examine how far it may be true. I acknowledge, that many writers have

³ Exodus xv.⁴ Judges v.

been of opinion, that the book of Job is not composed in this sort of measure, and I must entirely submit their opinion, St. Jerome's, and what I have ventured to offer, to the judgment of the reader.

Moses is by St. Stephen said to have been *learned in all the learning of the Egyptians*⁵. The sacred writings bear abundant testimony to the Egyptian learning; both in these and in succeeding ages. As St. Stephen thought it remarkable in Moses's time; so we find it was as famous in the days of Solomon, of whom it was said, that his *wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East country, and all the wisdom of Egypt*⁶. Agreeably to which sentiment of the Eastern and Egyptian learning, all the ancient profane writers suppose that these countries had been the seats of learning in the early ages. It may not be improper to inquire what the Egyptian learning in the days of Moses might be. Sir John Marsham puts the question thus; "What was this learning of the Egyptians, when the second Mercury had not deciphered the remains of Thyoth⁷?" By this query, this learned gentleman seems to have been of opinion, that the Egyptian learning was but in a low state in these days; and it may be thought very reasonable to imagine, that when the pastor kings broke in upon Egypt, and, having enslaved the country, forced

⁵ Acts vii, 22.

⁶ 1 Kings iv, 30.

⁷ Marsham, Can. Chron: p. 137.

the priests to fly into other nations, as has been said; such a revolution might probably put a stop to the progress of their arts and learning; but it is not likely, that it should altogether suppress and extirpate them. The tillage of the ground made the study of astronomy absolutely necessary, in order to know, from the lights of Heaven, the times and seasons for the several parts of agriculture; and the nature of their country, overflowed yearly by the Nile, made it of continual use for them to study land-measuring, and geometry⁸. And though several of the priests might fly from the pastors, upon their invading the land; yet doubtless they must encourage a great many to stay amongst them for the public good, and to cultivate and carry on the Egyptian studies, of which foreign nations had so high an opinion, and most probably were not entirely strangers to it. It is not indeed to be supposed, that the Egyptians had thus early carried the study of astronomy or geometry to a great height. They had observed, as well as they could, the times of the rising and setting of some particular stars; and they had acquired such a knowledge of geometry, as gave them the reputation of being very learned, in comparison of other nations, who had not proceeded so far as the Egyptians in these studies. But if

⁸ Γεωμετριαν δε και την Αριθμητικην επι πλειον εκπονθσιν' ο μεν γαρ ποταμος κατ' ενιαυτον ποικιλως μετασχηματιζων την χωραν, πολλας και παντοιας αμφισβητησεις ποιει περι των ορων τοις γειτνιωσι. Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 80.

we consider that the Egyptians did not as yet apprehend the year to consist of more than three hundred and sixty days, and that Thales was the first who attempted to foretel an eclipse⁹; and that both Thales and Pythagoras, many ages after these times, were thought to have made vast improvements in geometry, beyond all that they had learned in Egypt; the one by his invention of the forty-seventh proposition of the first book of Euclid; the other by his finding out how to inscribe a rectangled triangle within a circle¹; we must think, that neither astronomy nor geometry were as yet carried to any great perfection. The distinction, which Plato made between *Ἀστρονόμος* and *Ἀστρονόμειρος*², may not be improper to be kept in mind, when we treat of these early astronomers or geometricians. They compiled registers of the appearances of the stars and lights of Heaven, took accounts of the weather and seasons which followed their several observations; recorded the best times of sowing or reaping this or that grain; and, by the experimental learning and observation of many years, became able prognosticators of the weather, of the seasons, and good directors for the tillage of the ground³. And in geometry, they found out methods of marking out and describing the several parts of their country;

⁹ Laert. in Vit. Thalet. seg. 23; Cic. de Divin. lib i; Plin. lib. ii, c. 12.

¹ Laert. ubi sup.

² Plat. in Epinomide.

³ Diodor. Sic. lib. i, sec. 80.

and probably were exceeding careful in making draughts of the flow and ebb of the river Nile every year; for they formed many theories and speculations from their observations made upon it⁴. We may say of their skill in these sciences, what Plutarch said of Numa's astronomy⁵; it was not such as would have been extolled in ages of greater learning; but it was considerable for the times in which they lived. One part of the Egyptian learning undoubtedly consisted in physiology, or the study of the traditions, which their learned men had amassed together, about the creation of the world. Of these I imagine the Egyptians had a very rich store⁶; and the commenting upon these, and forming notions of the natural powers of the several parts of the universe, according to their maxims and way of thinking, was undoubtedly one great part of that philosophy, in which their men of learning exercised themselves⁷. Before Moses's time, the Egyptian astronomy had led them into idolatry. Syphis, of whom I have formerly treated, had taught them to worship the luminaries of Heaven; and from his time, a great part of the Egyptian learning consisted in finding out the influence, which these bodies had upon the world. They turned their learning this way, and formed and fashioned

⁴ See Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

⁵ Ἡψατο δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν θρανὸν πραγματείας, ὅτε ἀκριδὺς ἅτε πανταπασίη ἀδεωρητῶς. Plut. in Numa, p. 71.

⁶ See Diod. Sic. lib. i; Preface to vol. i, p. xlv.

⁷ Strabo, lib. xvii.

their religion according to it. Herodotus tells us, that the Egyptians first found out what deity presided over each day of the week, and every month of the year^{*}. Clemens Alexandrinus says, that they introduced the use of astrology⁹. Dion Cassius, that they supposed the seven planets governed the seven days of the week¹; and Cicero, that by the observation of the motion of the stars, through a series of a prodigious number of years, they had got the art of foretelling things to come, and knowing to what fate any person was born². Philastrius Brixienſis ſuppoſes, that this particular ſcience was the invention of the Egyptians; and intimates, that it had begun very early, by his ſuppoſing Hermes to be the author of it³; for the invention of all arts and ſciences, which were reputed truly ancient, were aſcribed to Hermes⁴. Necepsos, who, according to Eusebius, reigned in Egypt about the time when Tullus Hostilius governed Rome, was a great improver of the ancient Egyptian magic⁵; but it is evident, that the study and practice of it began before Moses's time, both in Egypt, and in the neighbouring nations. The caution, which Moses gave the Israelites⁶, shows evidently, that the idolatrous nations had then their professors of these arts, known by various denominations. They had *diviners, observers of times, enchanters, witches,*

* Herodot. lib. ii, c. 82.

⁹ Stromat. lib. i, c. 16.

¹ Dion. Cassius, lib. xxxvi, p. 37.

² Cic. de Divinat. lib. i, c. 1.

³ Hæres. n. x; See Marsham Can. Chron. p. 448.

⁴ Jamblichus de Myſter. Ægypt.

⁵ Ausonius, Ep. 19.

⁶ Deut. xviii, 10, 11.

*charmners, consultants with familiar spirits, wizards, necromancers*⁷. Balaam was skilful in enchantments, and may probably be supposed to have built seven altars according to the Egyptian system, which supposed that the seven planets presided over the seven days of the week⁸. Seven bullocks and seven rams might be a proper offering in his days to be made to the true God⁹; but the dividing it upon seven altars implies an offering to more divinities than one, and seems to have been one of the practices, by which he went to seek for enchantments¹. We may come up higher, and find earlier mention of these artificers. Pharaoh had his wise men, sorcerers, and magicians of Egypt, who pretended to work wonders with their enchantments²; and divination was reputed an art, and a cup used in the exercise of it in the days of Joseph³; and in his time, the kings of Egypt had their magicians to interpret dreams⁴. All these arts, in these days, were studied with great application in the idolatrous nations; and without doubt a great part of the learning of the Egyptians consisted in the study of them. Now I cannot see why we may not suppose, that Moses, as he had an Egyptian education, was, according to their course of discipline, instructed in them.

⁷ Deut. xviii, 10, 11.

⁹ Job xlii, 8.

² Exod. vii, viii.

⁴ Chap. xli, 8.

⁸ Nunb. xxiii, 1.

¹ Numb. xxiv, 1.

³ Gen. xliv. 5.

Philo indeed observes of him, that in all his studies, he kept his mind free from every false bias; and sincerely endeavoured to find out the truth in all his inquiries⁵. A happy disposition this, to which the most learned are often very great strangers: for it is not abundance of literature which gives this temper, but it rather arises from a virtuous and undesigning heart.

Many writers have imagined, that the magic of the heathen world, their oracles, interpretations of dreams, prodigies, omens, and divinations, were caused by a communication of their prophets, priests, and diviners, with evil spirits. They suppose, that as God was pleased to inspire his true prophets; to give signs, and work wonders, for his servants; to warn them by dreams, or to reveal to them his will; so the devil, and his angels, affected to imitate these particular favours, vouchsafed to good and virtuous men, and gave oracles, omens, signs, dreams, and visions to delude their superstitious votaries. When the heathens came to worship hero gods, and to suppose that the world was governed by genii, or spirits of a higher nature than men, but inferior to the deity; then indeed they ascribed oracles, omens, signs, dreams, and visions, to the ministry of such

⁵ Αφιλονεικως τας εριδας υπερβας, την αληθειαν επεζητει, μηδεν ψευδος της διανοιας αυτη παραδεχασθαι δυναμενης, ως εδος τοις αιρεσιομαχοις. Philo Jud. lib. i. de Vita Mosis, p. 606.

spirits, intrusted with the government of this lower world. This opinion is well expressed by one of Plutarch's disputants⁶, and it was esteemed to be true by Plato and his followers⁷. Many of the fathers of the Christian church likewise ascribed the divination of the heathens to the assistance of their dæmons; but we have no reason to think that any opinion of this sort had obtained in the first ages of idolatry, or had appeared so early as the time of Moses. We meet with no names of any heathen diviners, mentioned in the Sacred Writings in these early days, which imply any converse with such spirits. There are indeed two which may seem to imply it; but, if we rightly translate the original words for them, we shall see that they have no such meaning. We mention *consulters with familiar spirits*, and necromancers, among the heathen diviners, against whom Moses cautioned the Israelites⁸. Our English expression, *consulter with familiar spirits*, seems to signify one that divined by the help of such spirit; but the Hebrew words, שׂוֹאֵל אֹבֹב, *shoel aobv*, are two persons, *shoel* is the consulter, *aobv* is the diviner. Our English translators have generally missed the true sense of this expression. We translate, *a man, or a woman, that hath a familiar spirit, or*

⁶ Το μὲν εφεσταναι τοις χρηστηριοις μη θεως, οἷς ἀπηλαχθαι τῶν περὶ γῆν προσήκον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ δαίμονας ὑπηρέτας θεῶν, ἃ δοκεῖ μοι κακῶς ἀξιοῦσθαι. Plut. de Orac. Defectu, p. 418.

Plato in Sympos, in Epinomide; in Timæo; in Phædro; in Ione, &c.

⁸ Deut. xviii, 10, 11.

*that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death*⁹; by this translation, a man or woman that had a familiar spirit, seems to be one sort of diviner, as a wizard is another; but the true translation of the Hebrew words is as follows. *A man or a woman, if there shall have been with them* (i. e. if they shall have consulted), *an aobv or an yiddeoni* (i. e. a python, or a wizard), *shall be put to death*: here the *aobv* is the diviner, and does not signify a familiar spirit in a person, possessing him, as our English translation seems to intimate. That the word *aobv* is to be taken in this sense is abundantly evident from another passage in this book of Leviticus; the words are¹, *al tiphnu el ha aobvoth, veel ha yiddeonim: al tebakkeshu leta-meah bahem*, i. e. *Ye shall not have regard to the pythons, or to the wizards. Ye shall not make inquiries to the polluting of yourselves by them.* Here it is very plain, that *aobv* does not signify a spirit in a person, but is one sort of diviner, of whom the Israelites were not to inquire; as *yiddeoni*, the word translated *wizard*, is another²; and whoever compares our English version of this verse with the Hebrew words, must see that our translators wandered from the strict sense of

⁹ Leviticus xx, 27.

¹ אל תפנו אל-האבות ואל-הידענים אל תבקשו לשמאה בהם

Levit. xix, 31.

² The vulgar Latin, the LXX, the Targum of Onkelos, the Samaritan, Syriac, and Arabic versions, render the passage as I have, and the Hebrew words cannot fairly bear a different translation.

the original text, to express their notion of *familiar spirits*. I have translated the Hebrew word *aobv*, *python*; if it was a woman diviner, it should be *pythonissa*; the Greek word is *εγγαστριμυθος*³, and that the diviners of this sort were anciently thought to answer those who consulted them, without the assistance of any *dæmon*, or familiar spirit, is evident from Plutarch⁴. Our English translators render *doresh el ha methim*, *necromancers*⁵, the vulgar Latin translates it *querens a mortuis*, the LXX, *επερωτων της νεκρης*. I must acknowledge, that all the translations, and the Targum of Onkelos, take the words in the same sense, and interpret them to signify consulters of departed spirits; and by the marginal reference in our English Bibles, we are directed at this word to 1 Sam. xxviii, 7, as if the woman at Endor, to whom Saul went to raise Samuel, were a *doresh el hamethim*, though she is there said to be *pythonissa*; and the *python*, or *pythonissa*, is here in Deuteronomy mentioned as a diviner of a different sort from the *doresh el hamethim*; or, as we render it, *necromancer*. The several translations, which we have of the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as the Targum of Onkelos, were all made much

³ Vers. LXX.

⁴ Ευηδες γαρ εστι και παιδικον κομιδη το οιεσθαι τον Θεον αυτον, ωσπερ της εγγαστριμυθης, Ευροκλεας παλαι νυνι Πυθωνας προσαγορευομενης, ενδυομενον εις τα σωματα προφητων υποφθεγγεσθαι, &c. Plut. de Defectu Orac. p. 414; Vid. Cic. de Divin. lib. i, c. 19.

⁵ Deut. xviii. 11.

later than the time of deifying the souls of heroes; and very probably, the prevailing opinion among the heathens, at the time of making these translations being, that such departed spirits were in this manner propitious unto men, this might occasion the translators to think, that the words might be rendered as they have translated them. But it should have been considered, that the notion of hero gods arose later than the time of Moses, and the words *doresh el hamethim* may rather signify *one that inquires of the dead* idols, which the heathens had set up in the nations round about the Israelites, in opposition to those, who sought only to the living God. As in after ages, the heathens believed, that the world was governed by genii, hero spirits, or dæmons, by the appointment of the Deity; so in these earlier, and first ages of idolatry, they worshipped only the lights of Heaven, and the elements; allowing indeed a supreme Deity, but thinking these all had intelligence, and were appointed by him to govern the world⁶. And as, when the opinion of dæmons and hero spirits prevailed, all prophecy, dreams, prodigies, and divinations of all sorts were referred to them; so in these earlier times, before men had

⁶ Mundum—habere mentem, quæ se et ipsum fabricatum sit, et omnia moderetur, moveat, regat: erit persuasum etiam solem, lunam, stellas omnes, terram, mare, Deos esse, quod quædam animalis intelligentia per omnia ea permeet et transeat. Cic. Acad. Qu. lib. iv. c. 37. Consentaneum est in iis sensum inesse et intelligentiam, ex quo efficitur in Deorum numero astra esse ducenda. Id. de Nat. Deorum, lib. ii, c. 15.

proceeded to set up hero deities, and to worship dæmons; when the lights of heaven, and elements were the objects of their worship, it was thought reasonable to imagine, that the Sun, Moon, and Stars, by their natural influence upon the air, earth, and water, did frequently cause vapours and influences, which might affect the minds of persons, who by due art and preparation were fit for divination, so as to enable them to foretel things to come, to deliver oracles⁷. Nay, they thought a proper discipline might make them capable of working wonders, or procuring prodigies⁸; and all these things they conceived might be done, without the Deity being at all concerned in them⁹. They did not indeed deny, that God sometimes interposed; they acknowledged him to be the great author of all miracles, signs, wonders, dreams, prophecies, and visions, whenever he thought fit. But they believed also, that they might and would be effected without his interposition¹; either by fate, meaning hereby the natural course of things, which God had appointed to proceed in the universe²; that is, they thought

⁷ Plutarch. lib. de Defectu Oraculorum.

⁸ Cumque magna vis videretur in monstris procurandis in haruspicum disciplina. Cic. de Divinat. lib. i, c. 2.

⁹ Natura significari futura sine Deo possunt. Id. ibid. c. 6.

¹ Primum, ut mihi videtur, a Deo, deinde a fato, deinde a natura vis omnis divinandi, ratioque repetenda est. Id. ibid. c. 55.

² Fatum est non id quod superstitiose, sed quod physice dicitur causa æterna rerum. Id. ibid. Deum—interdum necessitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter possit, atque ab eo con-

that God had so framed the several parts of the mundane system, that from the revolution of the heavenly bodies, and the temperament and situation of the earth, air, and water; or, in general, from the disposition of the several parts of the universe to, and influence upon one another, prodigies, omens, signs, dreams, visions, and oracles, would constantly at the proper places and seasons be given, as necessarily as the heavenly bodies performed their revolutions; and that men might, by long observation and experience, form rules for the rightly interpreting and understanding what the Deity had thus appointed to be discovered to them³; or they said, that these things might be effected in a natural way, *i. e.* by the

stitutum sit. Id. Acad. Quæst. lib. iv, c. 44. *Τι κωλυσει της τε Διος ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΣ και προνοιας υπηκοος παντας ειναι;* Plutarch. lib. de Defect. Orac. p. 426.

³ Principio Assyrii—trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt, quibus notatis, quid cuique significaretur memoriæ prodiderunt—Chaldæi—diuturna observatione siderum, scientiam putantur effecisse, ut prædici posset quid cuique eventurum, et quo quisque fato natus esset. Eandem artem etiam Ægyptii longinquitate temporum innumerabilibus pæne seculis consecuti putantur. Cic. de Divin. lib. i, c. 1. Atque hæc, ut ego arbitror, rerum magis eventis moniti quam ratione docti probaverunt. Ibid. c. 3. Observata sunt hæc tempore immenso, et in significatione eventus animadversa et notata; nihil est autem, quod non longinquitas temporum, excipiente memoria, prodendisque monumentis, efficere atque assequi possit. Ibid. c. 7. Affert autem vetustas omnibus in rebus longinqua observatione incredibilem scientiam; quæ potest esse etiam sine motu atque impulsu Deorum, cum quid ex quoque eveniat, et quid quamque rem significet, crebra animadversione perspectum sit. Ibid. c. 49.

use of natural means proper to produce them. We are told by one of Plutarch's disputants, that the earth emits vapours, and powerful effluvia of several sorts, and some of such a nature as to cause men to divine, if they be in a proper temper of mind to be affected by them⁴; and the Pythia at Delphos is supposed, in Cicero⁵, to have been inspired from such an influence of the earth affecting her. In Plutarch it is remarked, that sometimes the natural temper of the air caused in the Prophet the proper disposition to receive the vaticinal influence; at other times, that the vates disposed themselves for it by drinks and inebriations⁶. When the vaticinal influence operated upon the mind, by the conveyance of the air, without any artificial assistance, then they said the vaticination proceeded from fate, because it proceeded from the natural course of things, or order of nature, which God had appointed to go on in the universe; but if drink, or any other artificial means, were used, then they said the vaticination came *a naturâ*, or from the use of means, which were thought to have a natural power to produce it. These were the first notions, which learning and *science, falsely so called*, introduced into the heathen world. Their kings and learned men did indeed know God, but they did not retain him so strictly in their knowledge as

⁴ Plutarch. de Def. Oracul. p. 432.

⁵ De Divinat. lib, i, c. 19.

⁶ Plutarch. ubi sup.

they ought to have done, but set up other deities besides, and instead of him. They thought that the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Elements, were appointed to govern the world;⁷ and though they acknowledged that God might⁸, upon extraordinary occasions, work miracles, reveal his will by audible voices, divine appearances, dreams, or prophecies; yet they thought also, that, generally speaking, oracles were given, prodigies caused, dreams of things to come occasioned, in a natural way, by the influence or observation of the courses of the heavenly bodies, and by the operation of the powers of nature. And they conceived, that their learned professors, by a deep study of, and profound inquiry into natural knowledge, could make themselves able to work wonders, obtain oracles and omens, and interpret dreams. In all these particulars they thought the Deity was not concerned, but that they were mere natural effects of the influence of the elements and planets; seeming strange and unaccountable to the vulgar and unlearned, but fully understood by persons of science and philosophy.

That this was Pharaoh's sense of things, when Moses wrought his wonders in Egypt, is remarkably evident from the use he made of his magicians upon the occasion. When Moses and Aaron came to require him in the name of their God to let the Israelites go, he asked them to show a

⁷ Cic. Acad. Quest. lib. iv, c. 34.

⁸ Id. de Divinat. lib. i, c. 55.

miracle, that he might know that they were really sent upon a divine mission⁹. Here he acknowledged, according to what I remarked from Tully, that God, by an extraordinary interposition, could work miracles¹; but when Aaron's rod was turned into a serpent, he sent for his sorcerers and magicians, to see if they could with their enchantments cause such a transmutation; and upon finding that they could, he thought it no real miracle², and refused to let the people go. In the same manner the magicians brought up frogs, and from hence Pharaoh concluded that the plague of frogs did not arise from any extraordinary divine interposition. The same observation may be made upon the river's being turned into blood; but when the magicians tried and could not produce lice, then they concluded that *this was the finger of God*³. Thus the trial of the magicians' skill was to bring Moses's wonders to the test, in order to discover whether they were effected by human art, or by the divine assistance; and shows evidently, that the prevailing opinion among the learned at this time was, that wonders,

⁹ Exod. vii, 9, 10.

¹ Primum a Deo vis omnis et divinandi repetenda est ratio. Cic. ubi sup.

² See Philo Jud. de vita Mosis, lib. i. We may apply here what is said of Pharaoh, upon the rivers being turned into blood; when he saw the magicians do so with their enchantments, he did not set his heart to this miracle, i. e. he did not regard it. Exod. vii, 23.

³ Exod. viii, 19.

prodigies, divinations, &c., might be procured, as I have remarked, *sine Deo*⁴, without the Deity's being concerned in causing them, and that, either *a fato*, or *a natura*⁵; by the use of natural means or enchantments to cause them (which artifices Pharaoh's⁶ magicians used to this purpose), or from the planetary or elementary powers at set times and critical junctures of their influence. I might, I think, add, that when Pharaoh was convinced that Moses's miracles were not wrought by any magical arts or incantations, he still hesitated, whether they might not happen from some influence of the planets or elements, which Moses, as a master of their learning, might well know the times of, and thereby be able to denounce what would come in its place and season. But, in order to take away all possibility of such suspicion, Moses several times gave Pharaoh liberty to choose what time he would have the plagues removed when he desired it⁷; that he might know that God alone was the author of them, and that they were brought, and by his power might be removed in any hour, and at any season, without regard to the stars or elements, their temper, influence, or situation. These, I

⁴ Cic. ubi sup.

⁵ Id. ibid.

⁶ I should imagine, that the divination by drinking out of a cup, hinted at Gen. xlv, 5, was of the same sort with the supposed natural way of divining by drinking, which is suggested in Plutarch. Lib. de Defect. Orac. ubi sup.

⁷ Exod. viii, 9, 10; ix, 5, 18.

think, were the arts in which the learned men of Egypt chiefly exercised themselves; and undoubtedly Moses had full instruction in all parts of their learning; though, as Philo remarks of him, he preserved himself from being imposed upon by their errors and idolatry. He made himself a complete master of every thing excellent in their discipline, and rejected what would have corrupted his religion, under a false show of improving his understanding.

There are other sciences generally esteemed to have been parts of the Egyptian learning. One of their most early kings is supposed to have been very famous for his skill in physic, and to have left considerable memoirs of his art for the instruction of future ages; and his remains upon this subject were carefully preserved with their most valuable monuments, and were with the greatest diligence studied by posterity⁸. We read of the Egyptian physicians in the days of Joseph⁹; and Diodorus represents these as an order of men not only very ancient in Egypt, but as having full employment, in continually giving physic to the people, not to cure, but to prevent their falling into distempers¹. Herodotus says much the same

⁸ See vol. i, b. iv, p. 192; Syncell. p. 54; Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi, p. 634.

⁹ Gen. l, 2.

¹ Τας νοσους προκαταλαμβάνοντες θεραπεύουσι τὰ σώματα κλυσμοῖς, καὶ ποτισμοῖς τισὶ καθαρτηρίοις καὶ νηστείαις καὶ ἐμετοῖς, ἐνιοτε μὲν κατ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐνιοτε δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τεττάρας ἡμέρας διαλείποντες. Diodor. lib. i, c. 82.

thing; and represents the ancient Egyptians as living under a continual course of physic, undergoing so rough a regimen for three days together every month², that I suspect some mistake both in his and Diodorus's account of them, in this particular. Herodotus allows, that they had lived in a favourable climate, and had been a healthy people³; which seems hardly consistent with so much medicinal discipline as he imagined they went through almost without interruption. The first mention we have of physicians in the sacred pages shows, indeed, that there was such a profession in Egypt in Joseph's time, and Jacob was their patient⁴; but their employment was to embalm him after he was dead; for we do not read, that any care was taken to give him physic whilst alive; which inclines me to suspect, that the Egyptians had no practice for the cure of the diseases of a sick bed, in these days. We read of no sick persons in the early ages. The diseases of Egypt, of which the Israelites had been afraid⁵ (if by these Moses meant any other diseases than the boils inflicted upon Pharaoh and his people)⁶, were such as they had no cure for⁷; and any other sicknesses were then so little known, that they had no names⁸ for them. Men lived temperately

² Συρμαινεσι τρεις ημερας εφεξης μηνος εκαστη, εμετοισι δερρωμενοι την υγιειην. Herodot. lib. ii, c. 77.

³ Id. ibid.

⁴ Deut. xxviii, 60.

⁵ Deut. xxviii, 27.

⁶ Gen. i, 2.

⁷ Exod. ix.

⁸ Ver. 61.

in the early times, their constitutions were strong and good, and they were rarely sick until nature was worn out; and age and mortality could have no cure. An early death was so unusual, that it was generally remarked to be a punishment for some extraordinary wickedness⁹; and diseases were thought not to come in the ordinary course of nature, but to be inflicted by the Deity for the correction of some particular crimes. It is remarkable, that the ancient books of the Egyptian physic were esteemed a part of their sacred records, and were always carried about in¹ their processions by the Pastophori, who were an order of their priests². The Egyptians studied physic, not as an art by itself, but their astronomy, physic, and mysteries, were all put together, as making up but one science; being separately only parts of their theology³; for which reasons I imagine, that their ancient prescriptions, which Diodorus and Herodotus suppose them so punctual in observing, were not medicinal, but religious purifications. The distinction of clean and unclean beasts was before the Flood⁴, and when men had leave to eat flesh, they most probably observed that distinction in their diet, eating the flesh of no other living creatures than

⁹ Gen. xxxviii, 8, 10.

¹ Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. lib. vi, c. 4.

² Chæremon. apud Porphy. lib. iv, de Abstinen. § 8.

³ Οἱ Αἰγυπτίοι ἔχ' ἰδία μὲν τὰ ἰατρικά, ἰδία δὲ τὰ ἀστρολογικά, καὶ τὰ τελεστικά, ἀλλὰ ἀμὰ πάντα συνεγραψάν. Scholiast. in Ptol. Tetrabib.; vid. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 41.

⁴ Vol. i, b. ii, p. 73.

what they offered in sacrifice, which were only the clean beasts and clean fowls⁵. And when the heathen nations turned aside to idolatry, as they altered and corrupted the ancient rites of sacrificing and sacrifices, and invented many new ones, so they innovated in their diet with it. Many new rites and sacrifices being introduced into their religion, new abstinences and purifications, new meats and drinks came with them; and it was the physician's business (he being the religious minister presiding in these points) to prescribe upon every occasion, according to the rules contained in their sacred books⁶. The Egyptians were very exact in these points. Herodotus informs us, that they ate no fish⁷; but, if we take either the reasons hinted from Julian by Sir John Marsham⁸, or the general one assigned by Plutarch⁹, their refusing this diet was not upon account of health, but of religion. In like manner they ate no beans, for they thought them a pollution¹: and their rites in diet were so different from the Hebrew customs, that the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, in the days of Joseph, for that was an abomination to them². It would be endless to recount the many fictions, which these men brought into religion.

⁵ Vol. i, book v, p. 274.

⁶ Κατὰ νόμον εγγράφον. Diodor. Sic. lib. i.

⁷ Lib. ii, c. 37.

⁸ Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 212.

⁹ Plutarch. Sympos. lib. vii, p. 730. His words are; Ἀγλαῖας μερὸς ἀποχήν ἔχοντων.

¹ Herodot. lib. ii, c. 37.

² Gen. xliii, 32.

The astronomers formed abundance, as I have hinted already, from the advances made in their science; and it is easy to conceive, that in studying the nature of the living creatures, fruits, and plants in the world, they might invent as great a variety of abstinences and religious diets and purifications from this branch of knowledge, as they did deities from the other, and fill their sacred pharmaceutic books, not with recipes for sicknesses and distempers, but with meats and drinks, unguents, lotions, and purgations, proper to be used in the several services of every deity, and upon all the occasions of religion. Their monthly prescriptions also might vary as the stars took their courses, and as different deities in their turns called for the observance of different rituals to obtain their favours. Pythagoras was duly prepared with this sort of physic, before he could be instructed in the Egyptian mysteries; and though, without doubt, he, or the writers of his life, refined a little upon the Egyptian doctrines, yet he introduced some share of this pharmacy into his own school, and disposed the minds of his scholars for his instructions by many mysteries in eating, drinking, and fasting³. He had likewise particular preparations of diet upon extraordinary acts of worship⁴, and had his recipes to cause divination both by dreams and vaticination⁵; so that we may guess from him, in

³ Jamblichus de vita Pythag. c. 24; Porphy. de ead. 42, 43, 44, 45.

⁴ Id. de ead. c. xxxiv.

⁵ Jamblich. ubi sup.

part, what the Egyptian prescriptions in these points were. And as the Egyptian physicians prescribed the true ritual way of living, so another branch of their profession was to embalm the bodies of the dead. All nations had their rites for funerals, and the persons who directed in these were commonly either some of the priests, or at least persons well skilled in matters of religion⁶. The Egyptian rites in this matter were very numerous, and required many hands to perform them⁷. Moses informs us, that the physicians embalmed Jacob⁸; many of whom were employed in the office, and many days' time was necessary for the per-

⁶ Diodorus, lib. ii, p. 88.

⁷ Id. lib. i, p. 57.

⁸ Moses's words are, that Joseph commanded his servants the physicians. It may be very needless to remark, that these words cannot imply, that the servants of great men were their physicians in these days; for physicians were always highly honoured in all civilized states, either considered as an order of the ministers of religion, as I think they were in these days, or when they were afterwards concerned in the cure of those who wanted their assistance. The word *servant*, in Scripture, is often used as we use it in English, not always in the literal sense. Thus Naaman called himself the servant of Elisha, 2 Kings v, and many other instances might be produced. Perhaps Joseph, in the high dignity to which he was advanced, might, though in a lesser number, have officers of state, elders of his house, as the king of Egypt himself had; and persons of the first rank might not refuse to be his servants in honourable posts of this sort; and he might appoint the embalming his father to those of his own house only, designing it merely to preserve his body, in order to carry it into Canaan, and not as a religious ceremony; for which reason he might desire not to have it publicly embalmed by the whole body of the Egyptian physicians, with all the rites of their religion to be used in public performances of this nature.

formance⁹; and different persons performed different parts of it, some being concerned in the care of one part of the body, and some of another¹. I imagine this manner of practice occasioned Herodotus to hint, that the Egyptians had a different physician for every distemper², or rather, as his subsequent words express, for each different part of the body³, for so indeed they had, not to cure the diseases of it, but to embalm it when dead. These, I imagine, were the offices of the Egyptian physicians in the early days. They were an order of the ministers of religion; for the art of curing distempers or diseases was not yet attempted. When physicians first began to practise the arts of healing, cannot certainly be determined; but this, I think, we may be sure of, that they practised only surgery until after David's time, if we consult the Scripture; and until after Homer's time, if we consult the profane writers. In Scripture we have mention of many persons, who went to proper places to be cured of their wounds, in the books of the Kings and Chronicles; and in like manner we read in Homer of Machaon and other physicans, but their whole art consisted in *ἰες τ' εκταμνειν, επι τ' ηπια φαρμακα πασσειν*⁴, extracting arrows,

⁹ Gen. i, 3.¹ Diodorus, lib. i, p. 58.² Herodot. lib. ii, c. 84.³ Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἰατροὶ κατεστῆσσι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων, &c. Id. *ibid*.⁴ Iliad, xi, 515.

healing wounds, and preparing anodynes; and therefore Pliny says expressly, that the art of physic in the Trojan times was only surgery⁵. In cases of sickness, not the physicians, but the priests, the prophets, or the augurs, were thought the proper persons to be consulted in these days⁶; for, as Diodorus remarks, it was the ancient custom for sick persons to obtain health from the professors of vaticination⁷ by their art, and not by physic. And this we find was the ancient practice mentioned in the Scriptures. Jeroboam sent his wife to the prophet, when his son Ahijah was sick⁸. Ahaziah, when sick, sent to Baalzebub the god of Ekron⁹. The king of Syria sent to Elisha¹. Asa, indeed, about A. M. 3087², sought, when sick, to the physicians; but it was certainly even then a very novel practice, and stands condemned as an impiety³. In the days of Pythagoras, the learned began to form rules of diet for the preservation of health⁴, and to prescribe in this point to sick persons, in order to assist towards their recovery;

⁵ Medicina — Trojanis temporibus clara — vulnerum tamen duntaxat remediis. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxix, c. 1.

⁶ Homer. Iliad. i, 62.

⁷ Ιατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην, διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς τέχνης γινομένην, δι' ἧς το παλαιὸν συνέβαινε θεραπείας τυγχάνειν τοὺς ἀρρωσθέντας. Diodorus, lib. v, p. 235.

⁸ 1 Kings xiv.

⁹ 2 Kings i, 2.

¹ Chap. viii, 8.

² Usher's Annals.

³ 2 Chron. xvi, 12.

⁴ Jamblicus de vita Pythag. c. xxxiv.

and in this, Strabo tell us, consisted the practice of the ancient Indian physicians, who endeavoured to cure distempers by a diet regimen, but gave no physic⁵. Hippocrates, who, according to Dean Prideaux, lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war⁶, *i. e.* about A. M. 3570⁷, raised the art of physic to a greater height than his predecessors could venture to attempt. He first began the practice of visiting sick-bed patients, and prescribing medicines with success for their distempers⁸. This, I think, was the progress of physic down to times much later than where I am to end my undertaking; and it must evidently appear from it, that the Egyptians could have no such physicians in the days of Moses, as Diodorus and Herodotus seem to suppose. It is much more probable, that, in ages after these times, they were like the Babylonians, entirely destitute of persons skilful in curing any diseases which might happen amongst them⁹; and that the best method they could think of, after consulting their oracles, was, when any one was sick, they took care to have as many persons see and speak to him as possibly could, that if any one, who saw the sick person, had had the like distemper, he might say what was proper to be done for one in that condition.

⁵ Strabo, Geog. lib. xv, p. 713.

⁶ Prideaux, Connect. vol. i, p. 569.

⁷ Usher's Annals.

⁸ Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxix, c. 1.

⁹ Herodot. lib. i, c. 197.

Strabo expressly tells us, that this was the ancient practice of the Egyptians¹.

Music is by some thought to be another of the Egyptian sciences, and their famous Mercury is said to have invented it. Diodorus hints, that he made the lyre of three strings, in allusion to the three seasons of the year², though I think that the year was hardly as yet so well calculated as to be divided into seasons³. However, it is probable, that the Egyptians had, before these days, some rude way of singing hymns to their gods, though music was not as yet brought to any remarkable perfection. Men have naturally a difference in the tone and pitch of their voices, which might lead them to think of an instrument of more strings than one. Perhaps all the music as yet aimed at in singing hymns to the gods was no more than this, that some of the people recited the words in a high tone, others in a low, and others in a tone or note between both, according to the different pitch of the several voices of the singers, it being possible to reduce the voices of all to one or other of these three, and the three-corded lyre might be formed,

—————adesse Choris. HOR.

to strengthen the several sounds of the reciter's voices, without their attempting to make more than one note from each string. A trumpet made

¹ Strabo Geog. lib. iii, p. 155.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. i.

³ See vol. ii, book vi, p. 58.

of a ram's horn could be but a mean instrument, yet this was a musical instrument in the days of Joshua⁴. It could be designed to sound but some one note, and three such trumpets of different lengths might serve as the ancient tibia, described in Horace, did, and perform by blasts what Mercury's three-corded lyre was designed to do by strings; namely, to direct the several pitches of the reciters' voices, and to join and add to the sound of them; and I imagine music was not carried higher than this in these days.

Philo suggests, that Moses had learned in Egypt the art of writing, both in prose, and in all sorts of measure or verse⁵. The best and most judicious heathen writers did indeed judge him to be very skilful in style and language. Longinus gives him an extraordinary character, and thought him a great master of the sublime, from his account of the creation⁶. This observation was so just, that one cannot but remark, with some surprise, how much prejudice may vitiate the taste and judgment of a writer of considerable abilities, of which Lucian is an instance, who seems to ridicule this very passage, so judiciously admired by Longinus⁷. No understanding reader of Moses's writings can be insensible that he was in truth, what St. Ste-

⁴ Joshua vi.

⁵ Phil. Jud. de vita Mosis. lib. i.

⁶ Ο των Ιεδαιων δεσμοθετης εχ' ο τυχων ανηρ. Longin. de Sublim. c. ix.

⁷ Λυει το σκοτος, και την ακοσμιαν ατηλασε λογω μονω ρηθεντι υπ' αυτε, ως ο βραδυγλωσσος απεγραψατο. Lucian. Philopat. p. 1122.

phen styles him, mighty in words⁸, even in Longinus's sense; numerous instances of which may be given; but perhaps no one more sensibly affecting than his account of Joseph's revealing himself to his brethren, where the narration, as he has given it, strikes the reader with the warmest pathos which words can give. There was certainly great force and life in the pen of this writer; but I do not think that he acquired these abilities merely from his Egyptian education, any more than that made him mighty in deeds also; which St. Stephen joins to his power in words, and in which he was undoubtedly assisted in an extraordinary manner by the Deity.

As to Moses writing sometimes in verse, Josephus says, that his song after the deliverance from the Egyptians was composed *εν εξаметρω τωνα*⁹; i. e. say some interpreters, in what we now call heroic, or hexameter verse; but I think this was not Josephus's meaning. He might, perhaps, call any verse hexameter, which consisted of six feet or twelve syllables, and give it that name,

———cum senos redderet ictus. HOR¹.

If we may take Josephus in this sense, there is little or no difference between his opinion and Scaliger's², about the verse or measure of this hymn. As to the lines of it being heroic verse, I think any

⁸ Acts vii, 22.

⁹ Exod. xv.

¹ Lib. de Arte Poetica.

² Vid. Scaligeri Animadversion. in Euseb. Chron. p. 7.

one, upon making trial of the words, may be sure that they are not. Whether they may not be, as Scaliger conjectured, a sort of iambics, the song beginning in words of this measure,

^{1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12}
Ashirah la Jehovah ki gaoh gaah

^{1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8}
Sus verokbo ramah bajam;

whether the first verse may not consist of twelve syllables or six feet, and be a sort of the trimeter or Senarian iambic verse; and whether the second line may not consist of eight syllables, or four feet, and be a sort of dimeter iambic; and whether the rest of the hymn can be conceived to be of this sort of composition; I must entirely submit to the learned. Verse, in Moses's time, very probably consisted only in a just number of syllables, without any strict regard to what was afterwards observed, the quantity of them. A greater regard was perhaps paid to quantity, when the Book of Job was composed, but verse was not then adjusted to that strictness, which it had in the times of Homer.

From what has been said, concerning the learning of the Egyptians, and of Moses's education and military skill, he must appear to have been the most proper person to lead the Israelites out of Egypt, of any among them; and as he had formerly had an inclination to attempt it, and proceeded some steps towards it, so upon computing the time they were to be there, and finding it near

expired², he might consider the wonderful providence of God in his preservation, and in so preserving him as to have him so educated, as that at this time his people had one of their number well qualified in every respect to be their leader. However, in all the thoughts he might have had of this sort, he found himself disappointed; the people refused to have him to be a judge and ruler over them³, and he saw that no scheme could be contrived by human wisdom, which might promise him success in endeavouring to deliver them. Therefore he left Egypt, and went and married in another country, and very probably had given over all thoughts of ever seeing or coming any more to the Israelites. But the private affairs of all considerate men, do, I believe, afford them many instances of some turn of life brought about by the direction of Providence, in unexpected events, when they could not be compassed by all the contrived schemes which they could lay for them. And thus it happened in Moses's life, in a most extraordinary manner. Moses was taking care of Jethro's flock, and followed them, as they wandered in their feeding, to the borders of the desert near Mount Horeb, where he saw before him a bush on fire, flaming for a considerable time, but not in the least consumed or diminished

² Gen. xv, 13, 14, 15, 16.

³ Exod. ii, 14; Acts vii, 25, 27, 35.

with the fire. He was very much surprised at it, and stood still to consider the meaning of it; and whilst he did so, heard a voice, which declared the design of GOD ALMIGHTY to deliver the Israelites out of Egypt by his hand, and the whole manner and method⁴ by which he would effect it. Moses had so entirely laid aside all thoughts of this enterprise, and had so little opinion of his being able to succeed in it, that, though he was appointed in an extraordinary manner to undertake it, he very earnestly refused⁵ it, until he had received many demonstrations of the miraculous power with which God deigned to assist him. Then, indeed, he went to Jethro, and asked him leave to go from him; and upon Jethro's dismissing him, he took his wife and sons, and set out for Egypt. Moses had, I think, cast away all thoughts of ever seeing his people more, and probably began to think that he had no part or expectation in the promises made to Israel. He had not circumcised one of his children, for he did it in this journey⁶. Aaron, by God's appointment, met him in the wilderness⁷, from whence they went together into Egypt, and gathered the elders of the people of Israel, and acquainted them with the business they came about, and showed them the mighty works which God had enabled them to perform as signs that he had sent them⁸, upon seeing which the

⁴ Exod. iii.⁵ Exod. iii, iv.⁶ Exod. iv, 25, 26.⁷ Ver. 27.⁸ Ver. 31.

people believed that GOD did indeed now design to visit them.

Thus Moses and Aaron undertook their expedition into Egypt, not rashly, nor upon any contrived scheme of their own, but at a time when neither of them thought of being employed in such a manner, and when Moses had a very great disinclination to go at all. He was settled in Midian well enough to his satisfaction; thought he should find the people very obstinate and unmanageable, not disposed to believe him, or to be directed by him; and he seems most earnestly to have wished, that it would have pleased GOD to have permitted him to live quiet and retired in the land of Midian, and to have sent some other person for the deliverance of his people⁹. And when he undertook to carry the message which GOD had directed him to go with unto Pharaoh, he had, perhaps, some doubts, whether the deliverance of the Israelites might not be a work which would proceed slowly, and require much time to manage; therefore upon his being informed that the men were dead who sought his life¹, he took his wife and sons with him, as if he designed to go and live in Egypt, and not like one who expected in a short time to return with the people, and to serve GOD in Mount Horeb². Certainly, in some respects, his behaviour was faulty, and as we are informed that the anger of the LORD was kindled against him³, when he ex-

⁹ Exod. iv, 13.

¹ Ver. 19.

^{*} Chap. iii, 12.

² Chap. iv, 14.

pressed the many excuses which he made against his being sent to Egypt; so we are told, after he had begun his journey, that it *came to pass by the way, in the inn, that the LORD met him and sought to kill him*⁴. The account here is exceeding short, but the circumstances which are hinted are thought to imply, that GOD was displeased at Moses's not having circumcised his younger son; that his wife Zipporah was unwilling to have the child circumcised⁵; that, as in the case of Balaam, when Balaam went with the princes of Moab, according to the command which he had received, an angel opposed him in the way, because he went with a perverse intention⁶, so here, though Moses began his journey, yet perhaps he had some coldness to the undertaking, or some thoughts about it which disposed him to keep this child uncircumcised, not suitable to that better spirit, which ever after appeared in all his conduct, and gained him the testimony of being *faithful to Him that appointed him in all his house*⁷, in every part of his dispensation. It is generally thought, that Moses at this time sent back his wife and children to Jethro his father-in-law⁸, and went with Aaron only into Egypt, according to the directions which he and Aaron had received.

⁴ Exod. iii, 24. Our translators have here used a very modern term, in the *inn*. The Hebrew word, מלון *Malon*, signifies only where they rested all night; which most probably was in some cave, or under some shade of trees.

⁵ Ver. 25, 26. See Pool's Synops. Critic. in loc.

⁶ Numb. xxii, 32.

⁷ Heb. iii, 2.

⁸ See Exod. xviii, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Moses, Exodus iii, 13, represents, that when he came unto the Israelites, they might ask him what the name of GOD was, and desires to be instructed how to answer this question. GOD had before told him, that he was *the GOD of his father; the GOD of Abraham, the GOD of Isaac, and the GOD of Jacob*⁹. Now as Moses acknowledged himself instructed, before he asked this question, to tell the Israelites, *that the GOD of their fathers* had sent him¹, what need could there possibly be of his either having, or asking, any farther information? The Israelites knew of and acknowledged but one GOD. What then could it signify for them to be told, that his name was *Jehovah, El, Shaddai, Elohim, Adonai*, or any other, when, by whatever name he was known, they must consider him as one and the same, the *only GOD, most high over all the Earth*? The ancients, both Jews and Heathens, and afterwards some of the early and learned writers of the Christian church, imagined that the names of persons and things were of the greatest importance to be rightly understood, in order to lead to the truest knowledge which could be had of their natures; and they frequently speculated upon this subject with so much philosophical subtlety, that they built upon it many foolish fancies and ridiculous errors. The Jewish Rabbins thought the true knowledge of names to be a science, preferable to the study of the written law², and enter-

⁹ Exod. iii, 6.

¹ Ver. 13.

² Ficini Argument. in Cratyl. Platonis.

tained many surprising fancies about the word **JEHOVAH**: one of which was, that it was so wonderfully compounded, that no one but an inspired person could give it a true pronounciation³. Plotinus and Jamblicus thought some names to be of so celestial a composure, that the rightly using them could not fail of obtaining oracles⁴, and Phœbus and Pythagoras are said to have cured diseases by the use of such names⁵. Such opinions as these might have their admirers in the days of Origen, and some of them seem to have been too easily admitted by him⁶. When they began, I cannot say, nor whether Naaman the Syrian thought that the name of the God of Israel was

³ Ficini Argument. in Cratyl. Platonis.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Πολλοι των επαδόντων δαιμονας χρωνται εν τοις λόγοις αυτων τω ο Θεος Αβρααμ—εκ επισημενοι τις εστιν ο Αβρααμ—Εβραια ονοματα πολλαχθ τοις Αιγυπτίοις επαγγελιομενοις ενεργειαν τινα ενεσπαρται μαθημασι—εαν τοιουν δυνηθωμεν παραστήσαι ουσιν ονοματων ενεργων, ων τισι χρωνται Αιγυπτίων οι Σοφοι, η των παρα Περσαις Μαγων οι λογιοι, η των παρ' Ινδοις φιλοσοφοντων Βραχμανες, η Σαμαναιοι, και κατασκευασαι οιοιτε γενωμεθα, οτι και η καλεμενη μαγεια εχ', ως οιονται οι απο Επικουρου και Αριστοτελεις, πραγμα εστιν ασυσατον παντη, αλλ', ως οι περι ταυτα δεινοι αποδεικνυθσι, συνεσως μεν, λογως δ' εχει σφοδρα ολιγοις γνωσκομενες, τοτ' ερμεν, οτι το μεν Σαββαθ ονομα, και το Αδοναι, και αλλα παρ' Εβραίοις μετα πολλης σεμνολογιας παραδιδόμενα, εκ επι των τυχόντων και γενήτων κείται πραγμάτων, αλλ' επι τινος θεολογιας απορρητη, αναφερομένης εις τον των όλων δημιουργον—ετως θ τα σημαινόμενα κατὰ των πραγμάτων, αλλ' αι των φωνων ποιότητες και ιδιοότητες εχθσι τι δυνατόν εν αυταις προς ταδε τινα η ταδε. Leg. Origen. cont. Celsum, lib. i, p. 17, 18, 19, 20.

powerful in this manner⁷; but certainly it must be a mistake to think, that Mercury Trismegistus was, as Ficinus hints⁸, of this opinion. For all these opinions took their rise in after-ages, and began from false notions, which the heathens took up about the reverence paid to, and the use of the name JEHOVAH amongst the ancient Jews, and Moses can in nowise be supposed to have been so absurd, to desire to know God's name, as if the use of that could have given any extraordinary powers, other than God might give him without his knowing it. It is very evident, that Abraham and his descendants worshipped not only the true and living God, but *invoked him in the name of the LORD*⁹, and they worshipped *the LORD*, in whose name they invoked, so that two persons were the objects of their worship, God, and this LORD. And the Scripture has distinguished these two persons from one another by this circumstance; that God *no man hath seen at any time, nor can see*¹, but the LORD, whom Abraham and his descendants worshipped, was the person who appeared to them². God did not always reveal his will by this LORD, for we meet with instances of angels commissioned for this purpose; therefore I imagine, that Moses, by asking in whose name he was to go, might desire to be informed, whether

⁷ 2 Kings, v, 11.

⁸ Ubi sup.

⁹ See vol. ii, b. vii, p. 130.

¹ 1 Tim. iv, 16; Exod. xxxiii, 20.

² Gen. xviii, 1.

the LORD, who appeared to Abraham, was to be his mighty assistant and protector; or whether some angel, such as went to Lot³, was to deliver the Israelites.

If we take what the ancients offered about the science of names, rejecting the idle and fanciful superstructures which they built upon it, we may form a farther reason for Moses's desiring to be informed what the name of GOD was. Men did not, at this time, know the works of creation well enough to demonstrate from them the attributes of GOD; nor could they, by speculation, form proper and just notions of his nature. Some philosophers, indeed, of these times, thought themselves wise enough to attempt these subjects; but what was the success? *professing themselves wise they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible GOD*⁴. There was not a sufficient foundation for a true knowledge of the heavens, elements, and the frame of the universe then laid, for men to build upon, so as to attain from the study of them suitable and proper notions of the Deity. Hence it came to pass, that the builders of these ages, having bad materials to work with, composed weak and indefensible systems of theology. When they had speculated upon *the fire, or the wind, the swift air, or the circle of the stars, the violent water, or the lights of Heaven*, not forming true notions of their natures; they were *delighted with their beauty, or*

³ Gen. xix.

⁴ Rom. i, 22, 23.

astonished at their power, and framing very high and false estimates of them, they lost the knowledge of the workmaster, and took the parts of his workmanship to be God. Now some error of this sort, or errors as pernicious as these, Moses himself might have fallen into, if he had endeavoured to have formed his notions of God, either from the Egyptian learning, or from any learning at this time in the world. Faith, or belief of what God had revealed⁵, was the only principle upon which he could hope rightly to know God, and upon this principle Moses here desired to go. For as the revelation, which God had made of himself, was as yet but short, so Moses, by desiring to know God's name, desired that he might have some revelation of his nature and attributes made to him. We do not find that the ancients gave their names arbitrarily, and without reason; but when Cain, Seth, Noah, Peleg, or when Jacob's children were to be named, reasons were given for the particular names by which they were to be called⁶. We find some names in Scripture given by God himself, which are always expressive of the nature or circumstances of the person to whom they belong; thus Adam was so called, because he was taken out of the ground. God called Abram, Abraham, because he designed to make him a father of many nations⁷, and men endeavoured, in naming persons,

⁵ Heb. xi, 3, 6.

⁶ Gen. iv, 1, 25; v, 29; xxx.

⁷ Chap. xvii, 5; see chap. xxxii, 28, &c.

even from the beginning, to give names thus expressive, as well as human wisdom would enable them to do it. Thus Adam called his wife *woman*, expressing thereby her origin, because she was taken out of man⁸, and afterwards he called her *Eve*, because she was the mother of all living⁹; and we find that the Egyptians were curious in attempts to name persons in this manner, even before Moses's days. For we read, that Pharaoh, upon Joseph's interpreting his dreams, called him Zaphnath-paaneah, *i. e.* a discoverer of things hidden¹; and this notion of names was held by the Israelites, who thought a person rightly named, when his name expressed his nature. Thus Abigail speaks to David about Nabal her husband; *As his name is, so is he; Nabal is his name, and folly is with him*². Plato observes, that the names of heroes, or famous men, cannot always be expressive, but that we may often be deceived, if we guess at the characters of persons by their names; because, he says, men receive their names according to those of their ancestors, or their friends express their good wishes to them in naming them, calling them by such names as may intimate what the persons so named may prove to be³. Thus a dissolute and wicked man may be named Theophilus by his parents, who wish to have another sort of person; and a weak and insufficient prince may be called

⁸ Gen. ii, 23.⁹ Chap. iii, 20.¹ Chap. xli, 45.² 1 Sam. xxv, 25.³ Plato in Cratylus, p. 273.

Menelaus by those who name him, in hopes that he may be a great defender of his people, though he does not afterwards prove to be so. And he represents Socrates in some doubts about the names which were given to their gods; because, as he expresses it, they were not the true and real names of the gods, by which they would call themselves, but only such as men had framed from their opinions and apprehensions of the deities to whom they gave them⁴. He adds, likewise, that we should pray to the gods to enable us to call them by their true names, for without this, we cannot form any well-grounded speculations concerning their natures⁵. This was Plato's opinion, after he had well weighed all the learning which had been in the world; and I think it agrees with Moses's sentiments upon this subject. Moses thought, that when he was to go to the Israelites, to bring them out of Egypt, and to tell them that their God had appointed him and them to serve him in Mount Horeb, they might ask him, whether he knew what a being their God was, and how he expected to be served by them. This question he could not pretend to answer, unless God thought fit by revelation to enable him⁶; therefore he desired to be

⁴ Οτι περι θεων υδεν ισμεν, υτε περι αυτων, υτε περι των ονοματων, αττα ποτε εαυτης καλῃσι. Δηλον γαρ οτι εκεινοι γε τ' αληθη καλῃσι. Plato in Cratylo, p. 276.

⁵ Δευτερος δ' αυ τροπος ορθοτητος εσιν ημιν ευχεσθαι οτινες τε και οποθεν χαιρῃσιν ονομαζομενοι, ταυτα και ημας αυτες καλειν, ως αλλο μηδεν ειδοτας. Id. ibid.

⁶ See Exodus iii, 13.

informed, as far as GOD might think fit to discover it, by what name GOD would call himself, knowing that by obtaining this, he might form just notions of his nature and worship. That this was Moses's design in asking for the name of GOD, might be confirmed from several passages of Scripture. When Moses desired to see GOD's glory, he obtained that the name of the LORD should be proclaimed before him, and the proclaiming his name manifested to him that he was *Jehovah, El, merciful and gracious, long suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin; and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, unto the third and fourth generation*⁷. Thus, the name or names, which GOD thought fit to give himself, were understood to be appellations, which might discover his attributes; and when GOD was declared to be a *jealous GOD*, his name was said to be *jealous*⁸. In the same style and manner of speaking, Isaiah, prophesying what the Messiah should be, declares his name to be *wonderful, counsellor, the mighty GOD, the everlasting father, the prince of peace*⁹. And the name of the same person was Emmanuel, because *he was GOD with us*¹; and JESUS, because he was *to save his people from their sins*². Thus, I think,

⁷ Exodus xxxiii, 18, 19; xxxiv, 5, 6, 7.

⁸ Ver. 14.

⁹ Isaiah ix, 6.

¹ Matt. i, 23.

² Ver. 21.

it must be plain, that the design of Moses, in asking God's name, was to obtain information, 1. Who the person was that was to be their deliverer, for we find this he particularly inquired after³; and, 2. What the nature and attributes of that person were, in order to know what duties he would expect from them, and how they were to serve him.

In the answer, which God thought fit to give to Moses's question, he declared himself to be *I AM THAT I AM*, and bade Moses call his name *I AM*, and say *I AM hath sent me unto you*⁴. Moreover he added, that he was *the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*⁵. In these last words, he declares himself to be the person who had appeared to Abraham, and had made the promise to him and his seed⁶, had made the covenant with him⁷, and was worshipped by him and his descendants, Isaac and Jacob⁸. And in the former words, he intimates his essential divinity, expressing himself to be *I AM*, or, *I AM THAT I AM*⁹, i. e. independent, immutable, self-existent. That the name here declared, as belonging to the God of Abraham, is of this signification, is incontestably proved by the most celebrated writers, to whose reasonings upon this subject, as I cannot pretend to add either strength or perspicuity more than

³ Exodus xxxiii, 12.

⁴ Chap. iii, 14.

⁵ Ver. 15.

⁶ Gen. xii, 7.

⁷ Chap. xiii.

⁸ Chap. xii, 7. 8; xiii, 18; xxvi, 24, 25; xxxii, 9.

⁹ Exodus iii, 14.

they have given, so I shall only refer the reader to them¹. But as there is a passage in a most excellent heathen writer, which, though very apposite, yet as not offering itself in a controversy between Christian writers, has not, that I know of, been taken notice of, I would produce it, because it may show what an acute and judicious heathen would have concluded from this name of GOD here revealed to Moses. We are informed, that there was an ancient inscription in the temple at Delphos, over the place where the image of Apollo was erected, consisting of these letters, EI. And Plutarch introduces his disputants querying, what might be the true signification of it; at length Ammonius, to whom he assigns the whole strength of the argumentation, concludes, that the word EI was the most perfect title they could give the Deity², that it signifies THOU ART, and expresses the divine essential Being; importing, that though our being is precarious, fluctuating, dependent, subject to mutation, and temporary, so that it

¹ See Waterland's Vindication, &c. Qu. iii.

² *Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀμειβομένοι τον θεον EI φάμεν, ως ἀληθῆ και ἀψευδῆ και μονην μονῶ προσήκασαν τὴν τε εἶναι προσαγορευσθῆν ἀποδιδόντες· ἡμῖν μὲν γὰρ ὄντως τε εἶναι μετεσθῆν ἔθεν, ἀλλὰ πασα θνητῇ φύσει ἐν μέσῳ γενέσεως και φθοράς γενομένη φασμα παρέχει και δοκῆσιν ἀμυδραν και ἀβεβαιον αὐτῆς.—ἀλλ' ἐσθῖν ὁ θεος χρεῖ φαναι, και ἐσθῖ κατ' ἔθενα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τον αἰῶνα, τον ἀκίνητον, και ἀχρόνον και ἀνεγκλήτον, και ἔ προτερον ἔθεν ἐσθῖν, ἔδ' ὑπερον, ἔδε νεωτερον, ἀλλ' εἰς ὡν ἐνι τῷ νυν το αἰε πεπλήρωκε, και μονον ἐσθῖ το κατὰ τῷτο ὄντως ὄν, ἔ γεγενῶς, ἔδ' ἐσομενον, ἔδ' ἀρχαμενον, ἔδε παυσομενον. Vid. Plutarch. Lib. EI apud Delphos, p. 392, 393.*

would be improper to say to any of us, in the strict and absolute sense, *εἰ*, or THOU ART; yet we may with great propriety give the Deity this appellation, because GOD is independent, uncreated, immutable, eternal, always and everywhere the same; and therefore HE only can be said absolutely TO BE. Plutarch would have called this Being *το οντως ον*; Plato would have named him *το ον*, which he would have explained to signify *εστια*, implying him to be essentially or self-existent².

In the sixth chapter of Exodus, we have a farther account of GOD's revealing himself to Moses by the name JEHOVAH, a word of much the same import with I AM, or I AM THAT I AM; and we are there told, that the LORD was not known to Abraham, to Isaac, or to Jacob, by this name JEHOVAH, but by the name of GOD ALMIGHTY, or El-Shaddai. This must seem to be the plain meaning of the words⁴, and in this sense I thought myself obliged to take them⁵, until I should come to examine this subject more at large here in its proper place. The name JEHOVAH was, I believe, known to be the name of the supreme GOD, in the early ages, in all nations. The person, who here spoke unto Moses, and declared himself to be the person who appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, is nowhere particularly mentioned in the Book of Genesis before the Flood, or after the Flood,

² Plat. in Cratyl. p. 289.

⁴ ושמע יהוה לא כדעתו להם Ver. 3.

⁵ See vol. ii, book vi, p. 10.

before the birth of Abraham. But though this person did reveal himself to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, by the name of El-Shaddai, or GOD ALMIGHTY⁶, yet it is most evident, from some very express passages in the book of Genesis, that they all knew him likewise by the name of JEHOVAH; therefore, if we explain this passage in Exodus to signify, that HE was not known until Moses's time by the name JEHOVAH, we shall make it directly contradict some very clear and express passages of the history of the precedent times.

I. The name JEHOVAH was known to be the name of the supreme GOD, in all nations, in the early times. Ficinus remarked, that all the several nations of the world had a name for the supreme Deity, consisting of only four letters⁷. This, I think, was true at first in a different sense from that in which Ficinus took it, for I question not but they used the very same word, until the languages of different nations came to have a more entire disagreement, than the confusion at Babel at first caused⁸. When the corruptions of religion grew to be many, and very considerable, men found different names for their gods, according to their different fancies and imaginations about

⁶ Gen. xvii, 1; see xxviii, 3, and xxxv, 11.

⁷ Ficini Argument. ad Platon. Cratyl. The word *Jehovah*, though the insertion of the vowels in our language requires it to be written with seven letters, is written in Hebrew with four only, thus יהוה *i. e.* J h v h, and is therefore called the *tetragrammaton*, or four-lettered name of GOD.

⁸ See vol. i, book ii, p. 122; b. iii, p. 128, 129.

them⁹; but whilst they adhered to the knowledge and worship of the true GOD, who had revealed himself to their fathers, there was no room for them to invent other names by which to express his nature or divinity, than those by which he had revealed himself to them. Accordingly, as we find the word JEHOVAH used in the earliest days, for it occurs above thirty times in the Book of Genesis before the Flood; so we meet with many instances of the supreme GOD called by this name, in different countries, where the particular revelations¹ made to Abraham and his descendants were not known, or not embraced as part of their religion. The king of Sodom knew the most high GOD by the name of Jehovah, for he admitted Abraham's giving him this appellation², and Lot knew GOD by the name of Jehovah³, and so, I imagine, did the men of Sodom; for though they thought Lot's account of GOD's design to destroy their city, to be but a romantic imagination of his, yet they are not represented not to know the LORD, as Pharaoh was afterwards⁴, though they were exceedingly wicked and abominable in their lives. Abimelech, king of the Philistines, knew Jehovah, and was his servant in Abraham's time⁵, for the

⁹ Plato supposes, that the Greeks formed the word Θεός from the verb Θεῖν, observing the stars and lights of Heaven, which they took to be gods, to run their several courses, and therefore they called them Θεοί. See Plat. in Cratyl. p. 273.

¹ See vol. i, book v, p. 262.

² Gen. xiv, 22.

³ Ibid. xix, 14.

⁴ Exod. v, 2.

⁵ Gen. xx, 11, and 18.

fear of GOD was then in that kingdom, though Abraham had entertained, without just grounds, a bad opinion of Abimelech and his subjects; and we find Jehovah mentioned here by the king, in the days of Isaac⁶. GOD was known by this name in the family of Bethuel in Mesopotamia, when Abraham sent thither⁷; and afterwards, in Jacob's days, Laban knew GOD by this name⁸, though it is remarkable, that he did not use the word entirely in the same sense as Jacob did, for Laban meant by it the GOD of Abraham and the GOD of Nahor, the GOD of their father, but Jacob swore by the *fear of his father Isaac*⁹: *i. e.* Laban meant by Jehovah, the supreme true and living GOD, which the fathers of Abraham, and Abraham, had worshipped, before he received farther revelations, than were imparted to the rest of mankind, and before he built an altar *to the LORD who had appeared to him*. After this, Abraham and his posterity determined, that this LORD also should be their GOD¹, and they invoked GOD *in the name of this LORD*². GOD was known by the name of Jehovah to Job the Arabian³, but it was not *the LORD, who appeared unto Abraham*, whom he knew by this name, but rather GOD, *whom no man hath seen at any time*⁴. Pharaoh, king of Egypt,

⁶ Gen. xxvi, 28.

⁸ Chap. xxx, 27.

¹ Chap. xxviii, 21.

³ Job i, 21.

⁷ Chap. xxiv, 31, 50.

⁹ Chap. xxxi, 53.

² See vol. i, book v, p. 268.

⁴ See Job ix, 11.

in Moses's time, is said not to know Jehovah⁵; and, indeed, corruptions in religion began in Egypt very early, and were arrived at a very great height before these days; yet still it may be queried, whether Pharaoh was really ignorant, that Jehovah was the name of the supreme Deity, or whether he only did not know the GOD of the Hebrews⁶ by this title. GOD's judgments were executed upon Egypt, not to convince Pharaoh and his people, that Jehovah was the supreme GOD, but to make them know, that the GOD of the Hebrews was Jehovah⁷. The Moabites knew the supreme GOD by this name⁸, though they were greatly corrupted with idolatry⁹, and we have a hint from Philo-Biblius, which seems to intimate, that the GOD of the Phœnicians was anciently called by this name, if we may suppose that Jevor or Jao may be a corruption of it; for it is said, that Jerombalus, who supplied Sanchoniatho with materials for his Phœnician history, was priest of the GOD Jevor¹. But we have a very remarkable instance of the word Jehovah used by a heathen for the name of the supreme Deity, in contradistinction to the GOD of the Hebrews, in times very late, even in the days of Hezekiah². Rabshakeh,

⁵ Exod. v, 2.

⁶ Ver. 1, 3.

⁷ Chap. vii, 5; xiv, 18.

⁸ Numb. xxiv, 11.

⁹ Chap. xxv, 2, 3.

¹ Eusebius Præp. Evang. lib. i, c. 9.

² 2 Kings xviii.

who well understood the Hebrew language, in delivering his master the king of Assyria's message, which he expressed in the Hebrew tongue³, professed, that he was not *come out against Jerusalem without the LORD, i. e. Jehovah, to destroy it*, for that *the LORD* said unto him, *go up against this land and destroy it*⁴. That Rabshakeh, by *the LORD*, or *Jehovah*, here did not mean the GOD of the Jews, though at the same time he knew that they called their GOD by this name, is evident, from his very plainly distinguishing them one from the other. He asserts, that he had an order from Jehovah (*i. e.* he meant from the supreme GOD) to destroy Jerusalem; but as to the GOD, whom the Jews called Jehovah, and whom Rabshakeh styled *the LORD their GOD*⁵, he observes, 1. That he would not assist them if he could, for that Hezekiah had provoked him⁶. 2. That he could not preserve them if he would, for that none of the gods of the nations had been able to deliver their favourites out of his master's hand⁷. The gods of Hamath, of Arpad, and of Sepharvaim, had not been able to deliver Samaria; and he thought all hopes of preservation from the GOD of the Jews would be alike vain. 3. That Rabshakeh really thought the GOD of the Jews was only an inferior deity, or god of a country, is evident from the opinion which the Assyrians had of him. They

³ 2 Kings xviii, 26.

⁴ Ver. 25.

⁵ Ver. 22.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ver. 33, 34, 35.

thought him the GOD of the land of the Jews⁸, and appointed a priest to teach the people, which they had planted in *Samaria, the manner of the God of the land, that he might not slay them with lions*. Thus the Greeks in Homer thought it necessary to appease Apollo, that he might not destroy them with a pestilence; or rather I might instance from Xenophon, who represents Cyrus taking particular care to render the *Θεοί πατριῶν*, or gods of the countries, which he warred against, propitious to him⁹. Such a god as one of these Rabshakeh thought the god of Israel. For, 4. It is plain, that he did not think him to be the Deity, or the LORD, without whom he affirmed, that he was not come up against Jerusalem; for Hezekiah remonstrated, that he had reproached the living GOD¹, and prayed, that GOD would save them; that, says he, *all the kingdoms of the Earth may know, that thou art the LORD GOD, even thou only*². When Rabshakeh had professed, that he was not come up *without the LORD*, against them, and that *the LORD* had said unto him, go up against this land and destroy it, if by *the LORD*, he had here intended the GOD of the Jews, what reason could there be to accuse him of reproaching this GOD? But Hezekiah's charge against him is well grounded, and pertinent to his whole speech and behaviour, if we take him by *the LORD* to mean not the GOD of the Jews, but the supreme Deity in opposition to him.

⁸ 2 Kings xvii, 24 — 28.

⁹ Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. iii.

¹ 2 Kings xix, 4.

² Ver. 19.

For herein consisted his blasphemy, that he thought the God, whom Hezekiah called *the LORD*, was not the supreme Deity, but only a god of a nation, such a deity as the god of Hamath, or Arpad, and of Sepharvaim, who in truth were no gods; and what Hezekiah prayed for was, that the God of the Jews would, in opposition to these blasphemous sentiments, show, that he was *the LORD God*, even *he only*, and that there could not be any divine commission to hurt those who were under his protection. The heathens, even in the later days of their idolatry, were not so gross in their notions; for they believed that there was but one supreme God. They did indeed worship a multitude of deities, but supposed that all, except one, were subordinate divinities. They had always a notion of one Deity, superior to all the powers of Heaven; and all the other deities were conceived to have different offices or ministrations under him, being appointed to preside over elements, over cities, over countries, and to dispense victory to armies, health, life, and other blessings to their favourites, if permitted by the Supreme Power. Hesiod supposes one god to be the father of the other deities;

——— *Θεῶν πατὴρ ἦδ' ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρῶν*³.

and Homer, in many passages in the *Iliad*, represents one supreme deity presiding over all the

³ Hesiod. *Theogon*.

rest⁴; and the most celebrated of their philosophers always endeavoured to assert this theology⁵, which was undoubtedly Rabshakeh's opinion; and as the supreme Deity had in time different names in different languages, so Rabshakeh thought that Jehovah was the proper Hebrew name for him.

II. We have no reason to suppose, that the patriarchs, who lived before the days of Abraham, knew *the LORD, who appeared* unto Abraham, and who spoke unto Moses⁶, by the name Jehovah. If we consider the history of the Bible, we may find just reason to remark of the several revelations recorded in it, that they all tend, with a surprising harmony and consistency, to confirm and illustrate one uniform scheme of Providence, which was gradually opened through a long succession of ages, until *in the fulness of time CHRIST was mani-*

⁴ Vid. Iliad. vii, ver. 202; viii, ver. 5—28, &c.; see Virg. Æn. ii, ver. 777.

— non hæc sine NUMINE Divûm

Eveniunt; non te hinc comitem asportare Creûsam

Fas: haud ille sinit superi regnator Olympi.

Jupiter is here supposed to be the Numen Divûm, and his will to be the fas, or fate, which no one might contradict. *Fatum est*, says Cicero, *non id quod superstitiose, sed quod physice dicitur causa æterna rerum*. De Divin. lib. i, c. 55. Deum—interdum Necessitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter possit atque ab eo constitutum sit. Id. Academ. Quæst. lib. iv, c. 44.

⁵ Cic. in Lib. de Nat. Deorum; in Acad. Quæst. lib. i, c. 7; ibid. c. 34; Plat. de Legib. lib. 10, in Phileb. in Cratyl. &c.; Aristot. l. de Mundo, c. 6; Plutarch. de Placit. Philos. lib. i; id. in lib. de EI apud Delphos. p. 392.

⁶ Exodus vi, 2, 3.

*fested in the flesh, and the will, counsel or design, hidden wisdom, or purpose of God*⁷, *which was ordained before the world*⁸, but not fully revealed to the former ages and generations, came at length to be made manifest to those who embraced the Gospel⁹. And the farther we look backward, we find a lesser discovery of this intended scheme, though we have plain intimations of some part of it in every age from the foundation of the world. Adam and Eve had a revelation made to them of a person to come, for the great and universal benefit of mankind¹; and the whole system of worship, by way of sacrifice, practised in the very first ages, appears most reasonably to have been founded upon the design of the true propitiation which was to be made by CHRIST for the sins of the world². But we read of no divine appearance to any person before the days of Abraham, who was the first who *built an altar to, and worshipped the LORD who appeared to him*³. Adam heard the voice of GOD many times⁴; GOD spoke to Cain⁵, to Noah⁶, and probably to many others of the Antediluvians; but it is nowhere intimated, that *the LORD appeared* unto any one person, until we are told that he appeared unto Abraham⁷, and then it is observed as

⁷ See vol. i, p. 260.

⁸ 1 Cor. ii, 7.

⁹ Coloss. i, 26.

¹ See vol. i, b. v, p. 261.

² Book ii, p. 76.

³ Gen. xii, 7.

⁴ Gen. ii, 16, 18; iii, 8, 9, &c.

⁵ Chap. vi, 9, 15.

⁶ Ver. 13; vii, 1; viii, 15; ix, 1, 8, 12, 17.

⁷ Chap. xii, 7.

what had not been before practised, that *Abraham built an altar unto the LORD who appeared to him*⁸; so that Abraham seems to have been the first person who knew or worshipped this LORD. Man, before he had received fresh and farther revelations than had been made to the world, worshipped Jehovah Elohim, the true and living God, but they worshipped God *whom no man had ever seen nor could see*, and whom Job therefore believed to be invisible⁹. But the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and their children, worshipped not only the invisible God, but this LORD also; and this LORD appeared to Moses, and declared himself to be the God of their fathers, who had appeared unto divers of them, and who purposed by his hand to deliver the Israelites. This was the person who was to be Jacob's God¹, whom he called *the fear of his father Isaac*, and whom he distinguished from the God of Abraham, the God of Nahor, the God of their father, *i. e.* from the God whom they worshipped before this LORD had revealed himself to them. In all the several passages where the word Jehovah occurs, before the LORD's appearing unto Abraham², which are near forty, I am not sensible that there are any, where the word necessarily refers to the LORD, who appeared to Abraham; and it is evident that the Antediluvians used the words Jehovah or Elohim as equivalent terms, taking them both for names of

⁸ Gen. xii, 7.⁹ Job ix, 11.¹ Gen. xxviii, 20.² Chap. xii, 7.

the one true and living GOD. Thus Eve, when upon the birth of Cain she said that she had *gotten a man from (Jehovah) the LORD*³, meant exactly the same by the term Jehovah, as she did by Elohim, when at the birth of Seth she said that (Elohim) GOD *had appointed her another*⁴. And thus likewise it was remarked, that in the days of Enos men were called *by the name of (Jehovah) the LORD*⁵, by which expression was meant, that they obtained the name, which we find afterwards given them, and were called the sons (ha Elohim) of GOD⁶. Elohim and Jehovah were the names of the GOD of Heaven, and GOD was generally called in the history of these times by both these names put together, Jehovah Elohim, or, as we render them in English, the LORD GOD.

III. The LORD, who appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, did indeed many times reveal himself to them by the name⁸ of *El Shaddai*, or, as Moses expresses it, he *appeared* unto them *by the name* of GOD ALMIGHTY; but it is evident, that by his name Jehovah he was also known unto them. When Abram was ninety years old and nine, the LORD (Jehovah) appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the ALMIGHTY GOD (El Shaddai⁹). In this passage it is related, that Jehovah

³ Gen. iv, 1.

⁴ Ver. 25.

⁵ Ver. 26; see vol. i, b. i, p. 37.

⁶ Chap. vi, 2.

⁷ Chap. ii, 4, 7, 8, 9, 15, &c.; iii, 8, 9, 13, 14, 22, &c. and thus ix, 26.

⁸ Exod. vi, 3.

⁹ Gen. xvii, 1.

appeared unto Abraham; this is Moses's narration of the fact, and it may be observed, that he might here, as an historian, knowing that the person who appeared had a right to the name Jehovah, call him by that name, though it is evident, that GOD who appeared here did not call himself in this place Jehovah, but said to Abraham, *I am* (El Shaddai) *the Almighty God*, and by that name only was here known unto him. In the same manner it is remarkable, that this person manifested himself to Isaac and his descendants, by this particular name of GOD ALMIGHTY. The GOD who appeared unto Jacob, said unto him, *I am GOD Almighty*¹; and this El Shaddai, or GOD ALMIGHTY, was the person whom Jacob prayed to be with his sons when he sent them to Egypt², who, he reminded them, had appeared to him at Luz in Canaan³, and whom he particularly calls the GOD of Joseph's father, in his blessing him at his death⁴. So that what Moses records, that this their GOD was known to them by his name of GOD ALMIGHTY, is abundantly clear from these and many other passages which might be cited. But that this LORD was also known to them by the name Jehovah, seems apparent from the following passages among others. Abraham called the place, where he went to offer Isaac⁵, Jehovah-jireh, which I imagine he would not have done, if he had not

¹ Gen. xxxv, 11.² Chap, xliii, 14.³ Chap. xlviii, 3.⁴ Chap. xlix, 25.⁵ Chap. xxii, 14.

known the LORD by this name of Jehovah at that time. Abraham's servant called the GOD of his master Abraham, Jehovah⁶; but Gen. xxviii, 13, is very full and express. Jacob, in the vision there recorded, saw the LORD standing before him, and the LORD said, *I am the LORD GOD, or rather, I am Jehovah the GOD of Abraham thy father, and the GOD of Isaac*⁷. Here the LORD very expressly revealed himself to Jacob by his name Jehovah; and accordingly Jacob hereupon resolved, that the LORD should be his GOD⁸, and in pursuance of this resolution, he was reminded afterwards to build an altar, as Abraham had done, not unto GOD, *whom no man hath seen at any time, nor can see*, but unto GOD, *who had appeared to him*⁸. It is therefore evidently clear, that GOD, who spoke unto Moses, and declared himself to have appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, was known unto them by his name Jehovah; and therefore our English translation of the latter part of the third verse of the sixth chapter of Exodus, in these words, *but by my name Jehovah was I not known unto them*, is undoubtedly a faulty translation, not rightly ex-

⁶ Gen. xxiv, 12, 26, 40.

⁷ See Gen. xxv, 1, where Jacob was directed to GOD who appeared to him at Bethel, *i. e.* in the place where he saw this vision. And Jacob himself says, that GOD Almighty appeared here unto him. See Gen. xlviii, 3.

⁸ Gen. xxviii, 21.

⁹ Chap. xxxv, 1.

pressing what Moses intended in this place. The best and most accurate writers have remarked upon this place, that the latter part of the verse should be read interrogatively, thus; *By my name Jehovah was I not known unto them?* If we take the sentence interrogatively, every one will see that it plainly intimates, that the LORD had revealed himself to them by this name, which is agreeable to Moses's account of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob's knowledge and worship of the Deity. But to take the words without the interrogation, and suppose them to intend, that the LORD, who appeared to Abraham, was not known to him, to Isaac, and to Jacob, by his name Jehovah, cannot be reconciled to some very express passages in the Book of Genesis.

In the LXX version, the words are agreeable to our English translation, *και το ονομα με Κυριος εκ εδηλωσα αυτοις*; but it has been observed by the learned, that some of the Greek writers read the words *και το ονομα με Κυριος εδηλωσα αυτοις*; that is, *my name Jehovah I made known unto them*; which interpretation is favoured by the Arabic version. The words of Moses may indeed be supposed to hint, that the LORD, who appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and to Moses, was not known by the name Jehovah, before Abraham's days; which I think agrees with the Book of Genesis, for we nowhere find him mentioned, before he appeared unto Abraham, and

before Abraham built an altar unto the LORD, who appeared to him¹.

I am sensible, that I have been very large in this digression upon the name of GOD. I was willing to be as particular as might be, because I would observe from the whole that occurs about it, that it is remarkable from the writings of Moses, that there were two different and distinct persons known and worshipped by the faithful from the days of Abraham; GOD, *whom no man hath seen at any time*, and *the LORD, who* at divers times appeared to them. The LORD, who appeared to them, is allowed by the best² and most judicious writers, to have been the same divine person, who afterwards *took upon him the seed of Abraham*, and was made man, and dwelt among the Jews; and accordingly, the prophet Zechariah calls this person, whom the Jews were to pierce, Jehovah³. Therefore, since, according to Plutarch's sense and interpretation of the Delphian EI, this divine person could not justly have been called Jehovah, if he had not been truly and essentially GOD; since, according to Plato's account of the ancient opinions about names, no person could have a name given from Heaven but what truly agreed with, and expressed his nature and person⁴; since we must conclude from Isaiah, that GOD would not *give his name and glory to another*⁵; since, according to what may be inferred from the words of the in-

¹ Gen. xii, 7.

² See vol. i, b. ii, p. 266.

³ Zech. xii, 10.

⁴ In Cratylø.

⁵ Isaiah xlii, 8.

spired writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, we ought to think this divine person *so much better than the angels, as he hath obtained a more excellent name than they*⁶: it must appear (this person being many times called by the name of Jehovah in the Old Testament) that we have, if we duly attend to them, great and weighty proofs of the true and essential Deity of our blessed Saviour in the Old Testament, whatever some very learned and considerable writers have hinted to the contrary. I need not, before I leave this subject, remark, that neither Abraham nor his children ran into the errors of polytheism; for, though it appears, that they acknowledged more persons than one to have a right to the essential name of GOD, yet their belief was, that *the LORD their GOD was one* (Jehovah) LORD⁷. GOD, *whom no man hath seen at any time, nor can see, and the LORD, who appeared unto Abraham*, were not supposed to be one and the same person; but as they were called by one and the same name, by a name which could not be given to another, so they were believed to be of one nature, they were one Being; in a word, as is expressed, Deuter. vi, 4, they were one Jehovah, though revealed to be more persons than one⁸.

When Moses and Aaron were come to Egypt, after they had conversed with the elders of the children of Israel, they went to Pharaoh, and deli-

⁶ Hebrews i, 4.

⁷ Deuter. vi, 4.

⁸ See Dr. Waterland's Defence, &c. Qu. iii.

vered their message, according to the orders, which GOD had given them, requiring the king to give the Israelites leave to go three days' journey into the wilderness, to perform a sacrifice unto the LORD their GOD⁹. Pharaoh, as he was satisfied with the belief of his own religion, did not see that there was any necessity for such a sacrifice as they spake of, and therefore answered, that he knew of no such god as the GOD of Israel¹. He thought that they might serve the gods where they were, and resolved not to suffer them to go out of the land. He suspected that they had a design of revolting from his service, and had been laying schemes to get out of his dominions. This was an argument to him, that they had too much leisure, and he thought he should effectually check their indulging themselves in contrivances of this sort, if he took care to leave them fewer vacant hours, and therefore he ordered greater tasks and more work to be enjoined them². He reprimanded Moses and Aaron for going among the people, and interrupting them in their employments, and ordered his task-masters to be more strict with them, and to press them to harder labour³; so that the people began to be greatly discouraged, and to wish that Moses and Aaron had never come among them⁴.

A few days passed, when Moses and Aaron

⁹ Exodus v, 3.

¹ Ver. 2.

² Ver. 6.

³ Ver. 17.

⁴ Ver. 21.

came again unto Pharaoh, and repeated the demand, which they had before made, for his dismissing the Israelites⁵. Hereupon Pharaoh desired them to show him some miracle, to induce him to believe that they were indeed sent by the God they spake of. Moses ordered Aaron to cast the rod, which he had in his hand, upon the ground; Aaron did so, and the rod was immediately changed into a serpent. Pharaoh was surprised at this transmutation, but called together his learned men, the magicians and sorcerers of Egypt, and ordered them to try if they could not, by their arts and sciences, cause such a transmutation. They attempted and succeeded, changed their rods⁶ into serpents as Aaron had done; so that Pharaoh did not think this a true miracle, but only an effect, which might be produced by a man who had studied the secret powers of nature. As it pleased God to permit the magicians so far to succeed as to delude Pharaoh, so at the same time God, who never tempts or ensnares any man into evil⁷, did, by a remarkable circumstance in this miracle, give the king sufficient reason to consider it more seriously. Aaron's rod swallowed up all the rods of the magicians; but Pharaoh's heart was averse to the thoughts of parting with the Israelites, and therefore he did not let this circumstance make a due impression upon his mind.

I have already hinted, that Pharaoh's design in

⁵ Exodus vii, 10.

⁶ Ver. 12.

⁷ James i, 13, 14.

opposing his magicians to Moses, was to see whether the wonders which Moses wrought were the effect of the art of man, of the powers of nature, or the finger of God. Philo Judæus⁸ and Josephus⁹ do both set this transaction in the same light. I am sensible that it may seem possible to represent it otherwise. It may perhaps be said, that Pharaoh never questioned, but that the wonders which Moses did were real miracles, wrought by the power of the God who sent him; and that he employed his magicians, not in order to judge whether Moses's works were real miracles, or not; but to see whether his own priests could not, by the help and assistance of the Egyptian gods, do as great miracles as Moses did by the power of the God of Israel, that he might know, whether the God of Israel could really compel him to dismiss his people, or whether he might not hope to be protected in keeping them by the power of his own gods, in opposition to the threatenings of the God of Israel. But this supposition is not to be supported by any true accounts of the heathen theology; nor can it agree with Moses's representation of the magicians using their enchantments, and the confession they made when they could not succeed in the use of them.

It cannot be thought, that Pharaoh employed his magicians to vie with Moses in working miracles, in order to determine whether the gods of

⁸ Philo de Vita Mosis, lib. i, p. 616.

⁹ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 13.

Egypt were as powerful to protect him, as the GOD of Israel was to afflict him; for it was not the custom of the heathens to endeavour to support themselves by the favour of one god, against the express and known demands of another. But they believed, that when the supreme Deity determined to afflict them, no other god could help them against his determinations; and that every or any god had full power to distress them, unless they took care, when required, duly to make atonement for any trespasses or commissions against him. Rabshakeh¹ believed, that when he was come up against Jerusalem, *not without the LORD* (*non sine Numine Divum*, Virgil would have expressed it), that no god could be able to deliver the Jews out of his hand. Thus Homer represents Hector delivered up to the fury of Achilles. When Jupiter determined that he should be killed, then Phœbus left him²; no deity any longer interposed in his behalf; and Virgil gives up Turnus to Æneas in the same manner³. Now as they thought no god able to deliver any favourite from the fate appointed by the supreme Deity, so we do not find instances, which intimate, that when any god threatened to afflict them, they thought they could support themselves against divine vengeance, by seeking the more immediate favour of some other god. When Calchas had informed the Greeks, that Apollo had sent the pestilence among them, for neglecting his

¹ 2 Kings xviii.

² Iliad. xxii.

³ Æneid. xii.

priest and favourite, the Greeks did not endeavour to fly to Jupiter, or to some other god, to be protected against Apollo's anger, but immediately took the best care they could to appease Apollo⁴. Thus, when the Assyrians thought that the people, whom they had planted in Samaria, had lions sent among them by the god of the country into which they had removed them; they did not think it sufficient to endeavour to procure them protection against this strange god, whose manner they did not know, by setting up the worship of their own gods; but the king of Assyria thought fit to command, that they should carry thither one of the priests, whom they had brought from thence, that he might go and dwell there, and teach the people the manner of the god of the land⁵. When Cyrus invaded Assyria, he made libations, to render the soil propitious to him; then he sacrificed to the gods and heroes of the Assyrian nation; then to Jupiter Patrius; and it is remarked, that if there appeared to him to be any other god, he took care not to neglect him⁶. This was the Pagan practice, and it could have been to no purpose for Pharaoh to employ his magicians to try to work miracles as Moses did, if he had thought them assisted by a divine power in working them; for it had been no detection of Moses's not being sent from God, that when he had wrought a miracle to confirm his mission, a person, who, by the same, or a like

⁴ Homer. Il. i.⁵ 2 Kings xvii.⁶ Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. iii.

divine power, could work the same miracle, had been opposed to him. This could not prove, that either of the persons had not wrought a true miracle, for each of them must have known and confessed that they had both wrought a true miracle by divine assistance. It is nowhere suggested, that the gods of Egypt commanded Pharaoh to keep the Israelites; nor can it be conceived that Pharaoh could desire his priests to try to work miracles, to know whether this was their will or not. For, supposing him to think that Moses had been able, by the power of one deity, to work a miracle to demand their dismissal, it is impossible to think he or his people could be so absurd to imagine, that the gods would work miracles in defiance of, and opposition to, one another. In this case, had he thought Moses had wrought a true miracle, he would have believed that some deity had really sent him; and though this deity was not an Egyptian god, yet when convinced that he really was a god, like Cyrus, when he had appeased the several gods he knew of, if he found that there was any other deity, to whom he had hitherto been a stranger, he would not have neglected him: but Pharaoh doubted whether Moses really wrought a miracle or not. The learned in Egypt thought, that miracles, prodigies, and omens, were given by the planetary and elementary influences; and that students, deeply versed in the mysteries of nature, could cause them by arts and incantations. Pharaoh thought his magi-

cians great masters of these arts ; and that therefore, if they could perform what Moses did, then Moses was only such a one as they, and endeavoured to delude him, by artificial wonders instead of real miracles. Now this is abundantly confirmed to be the fact, by the account which Moses gave of the magicians using their enchantments ; and of the confession extorted from them, when they could not succeed in the use of them.

When the magicians of Egypt endeavoured with their enchantments to produce lice, and could not do it ; the confession which they made hereupon was, not that they were overpowered by the God of Israel ; not that he assisted his servants beyond what their gods did them ; but אֲנִיכָא אֱלֹהִים הוּא *Atsban Elohim Houa* ; This is the *finger* of God⁷ : the Targum of Onkelos renders it, This plague comes from God. The Arabic version expresses it, A sign of this nature is of God. So that this appears evidently to have been what Pharaoh endeavoured fully to convince himself of ; whether the works, which Moses performed, were artificial, or whether they were *the finger of God* ; and when the magicians had answered him this question, we find that he made no farther use of them. Whereas, had the question been, whether the God of Israel or the gods of Egypt were the most able to assist their servants, Pharaoh might have doubted, whether the want of success in the

⁷ Exodus viii, 19.

experiment was not more owing to some defect in the magicians' enchantments, than in the power of the gods. He would have thought that the magicians had made improper applications to obtain the favour of the gods, and that, according to the notions which prevailed when Balaam was desired to curse the Israelites⁸, though some enchantments or religious arts of address might not obtain the divine favour, yet others might⁹. And being disappointed in one trial, would rather have argued a defect in the priest or magician's attempts to make the gods propitious, than want of power in their gods to assist them. But the inquiry was evidently not of this nature: all that Pharaoh wanted to be informed of was, whether Moses was a magician, or was really sent by the God, whom he spoke of; and he expected to be convinced of this, by examining whether his wonders were such as the magicians by their arts could perform or not.

There are several queries, which may be very justly made upon Pharaoh's employing his magicians to attempt to work the wonders which Moses performed. It may be asked, was there really any knowledge of the powers of nature, or arcana of art, by which magicians, without the miraculous assistance of the Deity, could perform such operations as Pharaoh here employed his wise men and soomerers to attempt? Did the Egyptian magi-

⁸ Numbers xxiii.

⁹ Chap. xxiv, 1.

cians really perform those wonders, in which they are recorded to have imitated Moses? How could Pharaoh think or imagine, that they could possibly perform them; or how could they themselves be so weak as to attempt them? or how came they to have success in some instances, wherein they tried and performed wonders like what Moses had done? But to all these queries it is not difficult to find a just and sufficient answer.

I. Was there really any knowledge of the powers of nature, or any secrets of art, by which magicians might be able to do such wonders as Moses performed before Pharaoh, without their having an extraordinary and divine assistance? It is easy to return an answer to this question. The knowledge of natural causes and effects is so clear in this age, by the light which has been introduced by experiment and philosophy, that we may positively say, no effects like what these men pretended to accomplish by sorcery and enchantment, can be artificially produced by any or all the powers of nature. No art, no study of occult sciences, can enable a man really to change a rod or stick of wood into a living serpent. There are no enchantments sufficient to enable us to make a living frog, or to strike our neighbour with a disease or boil, or to inflict any vengeance of this sort upon him. There never were the instances, which are pretended to, of things of this nature

effected by arts of this sort. How the magicians of Egypt performed their wonders before Pharaoh, shall be by and by mentioned; and in the same manner in which we account for them, we may account for all other wonderful and supernatural works, represented to have been effected by any heathen magicians in the sacred pages. As to many accounts of such facts, which are mentioned in profane historians, we may venture to assert, that they were never really done as they represent them; but that they are generally some of the Scripture miracles falsely reported, or attributed to persons, who were never concerned in them, or accounts of facts, which were never done at all. Julian, the son of Theurgus, is said to have caused the Heaven to be black with clouds, and a vast shower to fall with terrible thunders and lightening, σοφία τινι, by some magic art; but others think that Arnuphis the Egyptian philosopher performed this miracle¹. Such as this are the relations of the heathen wonders; no certainty of the performer of them, and nothing but a vague and undetermined conjecture how they could be performed. This fact may as well be ascribed to Arnuphis as to Julian, and was certainly true of neither; being probably the account of Elijah's obtaining rain in the time of Ahab², falsely ascribed to one or other of these heathens,

¹ Suidas in Voc. Ἰβλίουος.

² 1 Kings xviii.

in order to raise the credit of the heathen learning. But it will be asked,

II. Did the Egyptian magicians really perform those wonders which are ascribed to them? Some learned writers have imagined, that there was not any real transmutation, when the rods of the Egyptian magicians were pretended to be turned into serpents³; and that they did not really turn water into blood⁴, or produce frogs⁵, or exhibit any real miracle in their opposition to Moses; but that they either played their parts as jugglers, pretending to do what they really did not do; or that some dæmons assisted them, and, by their power over the air, enabled them to deceive the sight of the beholders, and to cause phantoms, or delusive appearances of what was really not done, though it seemed to be performed in the sight of Pharaoh, and those who were present with him. Many of the fathers of the Christian church are cited as abettors of this opinion⁶, and Josephus is said to favour it⁷; but certainly we have little reason to admit it. As to the magicians imposing upon Pharaoh by artifice and pretence, I cannot see how they could possibly do it, without giving Moses and Aaron an opportunity of detecting the cheat, and exposing them to Pharaoh, and his people. Elijah found it no great difficulty to detect the false pretences of the priests of Baal, when they

³ Exodus vii.

⁴ Ver 22.

⁵ Chap. viii, 7.

⁶ See Pool's Synops. Crit. in loc.

⁷ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 13.

pretended by prayer to bring fire from Heaven, but could not really obtain it^a. In the same manner Moses would, without doubt, have brought the artifices of the Egyptian magicians to a trial, which would have detected the cheat; if the wonders, which they pretended to perform, had been only pretended, and not really performed by them. And as to their being able to exhibit appearances of serpents, frogs, and blood, when no such things really were in being, but only appeared to be, by the air being so directed, by the agency of beings which had power over it, as to affect Pharaoh and his subjects in such a manner, as to cause them to think they saw the magicians' rods turned into serpents, frogs produced, and water converted into blood, when none of these things were really done: to this I answer, that to argue in this manner, is indeed to be unwilling to allow that the Egyptian magicians were able to perform a true miracle; and yet at the same time it supposes them to have performed wonders, of which we can give as little account as of a miracle. Let any one try to give a satisfactory account, how any magician could, by a power over the air, either by himself, or by the assistance of a dæmon, represent to the naked view of the beholders, in opposition to a true miracle, serpents, frogs, and water converted into blood; nay, and so represent them, as that the fictitious appearances should not be distinguishable

^a 1 Kings xviii.

from the real, but should bear to be seen with them at one and the same time, in the same light, and in the same view (for so the rods of the magicians turned into serpents certainly were, when Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods)⁹. I say, let any one try to give a reasonable account of this fancy, and he will quickly see, that he may more reasonably suppose the magicians able to perform a true and real transmutation, than to ascribe to them such imaginary powers as this supposition requires ; and which, if they could be conceived, can tend only to destroy the certainty of all appearances whatever. The account, which Moses gave of the miracles performed by himself and Aaron, and of what the magicians performed by their enchantments, does not hint any difference as to the reality of the performances of either of them ; and undoubtedly the rods of the magicians were truly and really turned into serpents, as well as the rod of Aaron ; and were truly and really swallowed up by Aaron's rod. The frogs, which the magicians produced, were true real living frogs, as well as those produced by Moses ; and the magicians certainly turned water into blood, truly and really as Moses himself did. There can be nothing offered from the sacred history, to suppose the one appearance more real than the other ; and if a believer of revelation will argue, that the magicians' performances were only phantasms, or deceptions of the sight

⁹ Exodus vii, 12.

of the beholders ; why may not an unbeliever with equal assurance argue, that all that Moses did was of the same sort ? Nothing but the most extravagant scepticism can be built upon so wild a supposition. But,

III. If there were no secret arts, no occult sciences, by the study of which the Egyptian magicians might think themselves able to perform these wonders ; how could Pharaoh imagine, that his magicians could perform them, or how could they themselves be so weak, or so vain, as to attempt them ? I answer : we read of no miracles of this sort ever performed in the world before this time. GOD had discovered his will to mankind by revelation in all ages. In the first and most early times by voices or dreams. From Abraham's time the LORD appeared frequently to his servants. But no such wonders as were done in Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh, are recorded to have ever been performed in the world before ; so that they were a new thing, undoubtedly surprising to all that saw them. Accordingly we find, that Moses, when he saw the bush on fire, and not consumed, was amazed ; and turned aside to see *this great sight, why the bush was not burnt*¹. And when GOD turned his rod into a serpent, Moses was terrified and fled from it². GOD had not as yet enabled any person to work wonders, as Moses and Aaron did in Egypt ; therefore Pha-

¹ Exodus iii, 3.

² Chap. iv, 3.

raoh, upon seeing these things performed, might well inquire whether his magicians could do such things as these; and the magicians might without absurdity try whether they could or not. God had before this time frequently revealed himself to his servants by dreams, by voices, by sending angels, or by appearing to them. And the world in general was in these days full of belief of the truth of such revelations; until, as human learning increased, the conceit of science, falsely so called, seduced the learned to think themselves able, by philosophy and speculation, to delineate a religion of nature, sufficient to render revelation unnecessary and superfluous. The Egyptians began early, and had proceeded far in this false way of thinking. Instead of one God and one Lord, whom Abraham and his descendants worshipped, they corrupted their faith very near as early as Abraham's days³; and admitted, that there was indeed a Supreme Deity, presiding over the universe (for this I think the heathens never really denied, though the grossness of polytheism, which time introduced, greatly obscured their knowledge of even this truth); but they imagined they had reason to think, that the planets and elements were also gods⁴, and governed the world

³ See vol. i, b. v, p. 289; vol. ii, b. vii, p. 132.

⁴ Mundum—habere mentem, quæ et se, et ipsum fabricatum sit, et omnia moderetur, moveat, regat: erit persuasum etiam solem, lunam, stellas omnes, terram, mare Deos esse. Cic.

by their influence, though subject to the fate⁵, will, or direction of the supreme GOD. And as to what was generally believed of dreams, visions, and revelations, which had been made to men, the learned in these times thought as freely about them, as our modern querists. The belief of them was of service to the legislators, who knew how to make them a state-engine to govern their people by⁶; but they thought themselves wise enough to know, that they were occasioned *sine Deo*, in a natural way, by the planetary and elementary influences; and that they were made a part of their religion, only for the utility of their popular influence⁷, and for reasons of state, for

⁵ Τι κωλυσει της τε Διος ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΣ υπηκοος παντας ειναι. Plut. lib. de Defect. Orac. p. 426. Fatum est non id quod superstitiose sed quod physice dicitur causa æterna rerum. Cic. Deum Necessitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter possit atque ab eo constitutum sit.

⁶ Ονειρατα και φασματα, και τοιςτον αλλον ογκον προισταμενοι—ο πολιτικοις μεν ανδρασι, και προς αυθαδη και ακολασον οχλον ηναγκασμενοις ζην, εκ αχρησων ισως εσιν, ωσπερ εκ χαλινε της δεισιδαιμονιας προς το συμφερον αντιστασαι και μετασθσαι τες πολλες. Plut. lib. de Socratis Genio, p. 580.

⁷ Non enim sumus ii nos augures, qui avium, reliquorumve signorum observatione futura dicamus:—errabat enim multis in rebus antiquitas, quam vel usu jam vel doctrina vel vetustate immutatam videmus; retinetur autem et ad opinionem vulgi, et ad magnas utilitates reipublicæ mos, religio, disciplina, jus augurum, collegii authoritas. Cicer. de Divinat. lib. ii, c. 33.

the government of kingdoms⁸. Hitherto the Egyptians had proceeded; and had Moses come to them, and could only have assured them, that he had received a command from GOD in a dream, or by a vision, or by a voice, or any other revelation; neither Pharaoh, nor his wise men, would have regarded him at all, but have concluded, that some natural prodigy had happened; for such they would, most probably, have imagined the bush on fire to be, and have supposed that Moses had made a political use of it; and for this reason Pharaoh bade him *show a miracle*; knowing, that if the Deity really sent him, he could give this proof of it. Hereupon GOD enabled Moses to work several very extraordinary signs and wonders, such as had never been seen or heard of in the world before. Upon seeing which, Pharaoh very naturally consulted his Magi; and they tried all the mystical operations, and examined all the schemes, which their systems of science furnished, to see whether these things could be done or accounted for by any natural influences, or human learning; and after several trials acknowledged that they could not, but that they were the effect of an omnipotent hand, *the finger of GOD*⁹. But

IV. If the Egyptian magicians had no mystical

⁸ Existimo jus augurum, etsi divinationis opinione principio constitutum sit; tamen postea reipublicæ causa conservatum ac retentum. Cic. de Divinat. lib. ii, c. 35.

⁹ Exodus viii, 19,

arts, by the use of which they could really turn their rods into serpents, produce frogs, and change water into blood, how came they to succeed in these attempts, which they made in opposition to Moses? We have no reason to think that the king knew, that those works, which he employed his magicians to try to perform, were within the reach of any art they were masters of, because he ordered them to try to perform them; rather, on the contrary, he ordered them to try to perform them, that he might know whether art could effect them or not, or whether they were indeed true miracles. Kings were wont in all extraordinary cases, where any thing happened, which was thought ominous or surprising, to send for their priests and learned professors, and to order them to answer the difficulties which perplexed them. And though much was pretended to, yet they had not yet advanced so far in the true knowledge of nature, but that kings sometimes thought they might require of their Magi things impossible. We have an instance of this in the Book of Daniel¹. Nebuchadnezzar dreamed a dream and forgot it, and required his Magi, not only to tell him the meaning of his dream, but to find out what his dream was. And though the Chaldeans answered him, that *no man upon Earth could do it*, and that *no king, lord, or ruler had ever asked such a thing of any magician, astrologer, or Chaldean*,

¹ Daniel ii.

yet the king was so resolutely set upon compelling them to use their utmost endeavours, that he *resolved*, and *commanded to destroy all the Magi, or wise men of Babylon*. In these cases, the Magi might try all possible experiments, though they had no reason to hope for success from them.

2. It does not appear from the magicians here trying their experiments, and succeeding in them, that they thought at first that their arts would be effectual, and that they should be able to perform such works as Moses and Aaron had done. The priests of Baal, in the time of Elijah², had no reason to think, that the invocations of their god, or the cutting themselves with knives and lancets, would produce the fire from Heaven to consume their sacrifice; but yet they tried all the artifices they could think of from morning until evening. So here the Egyptians had no reason to think their incantations would produce serpents; but they would try all experiments, in order to judge farther of the matter; and upon their attempting, God was pleased in some cases to give an unexpected success to their endeavours, in order to serve and carry on his own purposes and designs by it. For,

3. The success they had was certainly unexpected, as evidently appears, by their not being able to follow Moses in all his miracles. They produced serpents and frogs, and converted water into blood, but when they attempted to produce the lice, they

² 1 Kings xviii.

could not do it. It is here evident, that the magicians did not know the extent of their powers, if they can be conceived to have had any, for they attempted to equal Moses in all his performances, but upon trial they found they could do some, but in others, though not a whit more difficult, they could not obtain any success at all. Had they had any effectual rules of art or science to work by, they would at first, without trial, have known what to attempt, and what not; but in truth, they had no arts to perform any thing of this sort. In some instances, GOD was pleased to give a success, which they little expected, to their endeavours, and with which they were so far from resting satisfied, that they took the first opportunity, which was given them, when their attempts failed, to acknowledge, that Moses was certainly assisted by the divine power.

Moses and Aaron went the third time to Pharaoh, and urged again the demand they had made for his dismissing the Israelites; and as a farther sign, that GOD had really sent them, upon Aaron's stretching out his hand, and touching the waters of the river with his rod, all the waters in the land of Egypt were turned into blood, and continued so for seven days, so that the fish died, and the Egyptians could get no water to drink³; but Pharaoh,

³ Exodus vii, 15—25. Pharaoh is here mentioned as going down in the morning to the river. It is probable, that the Egyptians accounted it a necessary part of religion to purify themselves every morning, by washing in the river. Virgil

finding that his magicians could turn water into blood, was not convinced by this miracle, and so refused to part with the Israelites.

Some time after Moses and Aaron came again to him, requiring the dismissal of the people, and withal assuring him, that, if he did not grant it, they should bring a great plague of frogs upon all the land; and in order hereto, Moses directed Aaron to stretch his rod again over the waters, upon doing which there came up abundance of frogs, so as to *cover the land of Egypt*, and to swarm in the houses, bed-chambers, upon the beds, in the ovens, and kneading troughs of the Egyptians⁴; but here it likewise happened that the magicians also produced frogs, so that Pharaoh was not much influenced by this miracle⁵.

represents Æneas as thinking such a purification necessary, before he might touch the Trojan *sacra*, having polluted himself in battle; he says to his father Anchises,

Tu, genitor, cape sacra manu, patriosque penates;
Me, bello e tanto digressum, et cæde recenti,
Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo
Abluero.

VIRG. ÆN. ii, v. 717.

But the Egyptians used these purifications twice every day, says Herodotus, *δις της ημερας εκαστης, και δις εκαστης νυκτος*. Lib. ii, c. 37. Chæremon says, thrice every day (*απελθοντο ψυχρω απο τε κοιτης, και προ αριστη, και προς υπνον*. ap. Porphy. *περι αποχ.* lib. iv, sec. 7), when they came from bed in the morning, just before dinner, and at night when they went to sleep. Moses was here directed to go to Pharaoh in the morning, at his going out to the water; so that Pharaoh was here going to perform the morning purification.

⁴ Exod. viii, 3, 6.

⁵ Ver. 7.

There were several other miracles wrought by Moses and Aaron in Egypt after the same manner. The swarms of lice⁶; the murrain upon the Egyptian cattle⁷; the plague of the flies⁸; the boils inflicted not only upon the Egyptian people, but upon the magicians also⁹; the terrible rain and hail and fire mingled with hail¹; the plague of the locusts², and the darkness³ for three days; all these things being caused at the word of Moses, exceedingly perplexed the king. He found that all the powers, art, and learning of his magicians could not perform these miracles; nay, upon attempting one of them, they themselves confessed to him, that it was done by the finger of God⁴; and in the plague of the boils, the magicians themselves were afflicted⁵, and *could not stand before Moses, because of the boil; for the boil was upon the magicians, and all the Egyptians.* The king's heart was several times almost overcome. He offered the Israelites leave to sacrifice to the LORD their God, provided they would do it in Egypt⁶; but to this Moses answered, that their religion was so different from the Egyptian, that were they to perform the offices of it in Egypt, the people would be so offended as to rise against them and stone them⁷. Afterwards Pharaoh would have

⁶ Exod. viii, 16.

⁸ Chap. viii, 21.

¹ Ver. 18.

³ Ver. 21.

⁵ Chap. ix, 11.

⁷ Ver. 26.

² Chap. ix, 3, 7.

⁹ Chap. ix, 9—12.

⁴ Chap. x, 4.

⁶ Chap. viii, 19.

⁶ Chap. viii, 25.

permitted them to go out of Egypt, provided the adult persons only would go, and that they would leave their children behind them as pledges of their return⁸; but upon Moses insisting to have the people go, *with their young and with their old, with their sons and with their daughters, with their flocks and with their herds*, Pharaoh was incensed against him, and, having severely threatened him, ordered him to be turned out of his presence⁹. Afterwards Pharaoh was willing that all the people should go, only that they should let their flocks and their herds stay¹; very probably knowing, that they could not go far without sustenance, and that, if they left all their flocks, and their herds, they must soon return again; for what nation would receive or maintain with their own product and provisions so numerous a people? or how, or where should they subsist, if their flocks and herds were left behind them? So that the leave of departing, which Pharaoh offered, would soon have been of no service; therefore Moses rejected it, and required that their *cattle also should go with them, and not a hoof be left behind*². But upon Moses requiring this, Pharaoh grew exceeding angry, and charged him to get away, and never attempt to see him more; for that if he did, he would certainly put him to death³.

Thus was this unhappy prince, by the obstinacy

⁸ Exodus x, 11.

¹ Ver. 24.

² Ver. 28.

⁹ Ibid.

³ Ver. 25.

of his heart, carried on through many great misfortunes to himself and his people, at length to his ruin. He had all along sufficient means of conviction. When his magicians' rods were turned into serpents, and Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods, how would a circumstance, far less remarkable and extraordinary, have moved him, if what Moses required had not been disagreeable to him? In several of the plagues, which were inflicted upon him and his people, Pharaoh was compelled to make application to Moses, to intreat the LORD his GOD to remove the evil⁴; and in others, the king himself was nice and exact in inquiring, whether the Israelites did suffer in them with his people or not; and found, upon examination, that GOD had distinguished the Israelites from the Egyptians, and that they were not partakers⁵ in the remarkable calamities inflicted upon the land. I might add the particular confession of the magicians, that Moses's works were *the finger of GOD*⁶; and observe how the magicians themselves suffered in the plague of the boils; and how Moses was able, at any time or hour, to obtain from GOD a removal of the plagues, upon Pharaoh's address for it. How could the king, if he attended at all to these circumstances, not be entirely convinced by them? Yet I do not see that we have any reason to think that he fully believed that Moses was really

⁴ Exodus viii, 8, 29; ix, 28; and x, 17.

⁵ Id. viii, 21; ix, 7, 26; and x, 23.

⁶ Chap. viii, 19.

and truly sent from GOD to him upon the message which he had delivered. There were many of the servants of Pharaoh, who regarded not the word of the LORD, but left their servants and cattle in the field, when Moses had threatened the rain and the fire and hail to destroy them⁷. Undoubtedly, after all that had been done before this, these men did not believe, that any such storm would happen; and after this, and after the inflicting another plague, the Egyptians only thought that Moses was *a snare* to them⁸; a snare, from which Pharaoh seemed to think he might perhaps free his people, if he put him to death⁹. All the effects which Moses's miracles seem to have had was, not that the power of GOD was at last revered, or acknowledged by Pharaoh or his people; but *the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people*¹; they admired the man as far superior to their own magicians; but what he had done had no true influence for the end for which it was intended. For we may reasonably suppose, that when Pharaoh and his army pursued the Israelites to the Red Sea, though they were terribly struck at the death of their firstborn, and therefore had dismissed them; yet when they came to consider more at leisure what they had done, it is probable they believed at last, that they had been imposed upon more by the art of Moses, than any

⁷ Exodus ix, 21.⁹ Ver. 28.⁸ Chap. x, 7.¹ Chap. xi, 3.

true and real power of God, exerted for the deliverance of his people, and for that reason they went after them to retake them, or to revenge themselves upon them. I am sensible it may be asked, how could men of common sense and understanding be so wonderfully absurd? But I answer; sense and understanding are not the only requisites to make men judge rightly of even clear and very evident truths. The inspired writer most justly advises, to *take heed of an evil heart of unbelief*²; *out of the heart are the issues of life*³. Our passions and affections have a very powerful influence over us; and where they are not carefully managed and governed, it is amazing to see how the slightest evasions will pass for most weighty and conclusive arguments, and how the brightest and most apparent evidences of truths, will be thought to be of little moment even to persons of the greatest sense and sagacity in other matters, where their interest or their humours do not contradict the truths which are offered to them. Pharaoh's fault was in his heart, and that made him unfortunate in the use of his understanding. The Israelites were numerous and serviceable slaves, and it was a terrible shock and diminution to his wealth and grandeur to dismiss them; and not being able to reconcile his inclinations to the thoughts of parting with them, the vague and ill-grounded learning of the times he lived in, was

² Heb. iii, 12.³ Prov. iv, 23.

thought to afford arguments sufficient to take off the force of all the miracles, which were offered to induce him to it. It is no very hard matter to judge of truth, if we are but sincerely disposed to embrace it; *If any man will do GOD's will, he will know of the doctrine, whether it be of GOD*⁴. A common capacity, and an ordinary share of understanding, will afford light enough, if evil passions do not make *the light that is in us* to become *darkness*. But if our heart be not duly disposed to embrace the truth; *neither may we be persuaded*, by the greatest arguments and demonstrations which can be offered, even though we have uncommon abilities to judge of, and understand the force of what is represented to us.

Some writers have imagined, that the non-compliance of Pharaoh was an effect of temper produced in him by GOD himself. They endeavour to support their opinion by the many expressions of Moses, that GOD hardened Pharaoh's heart⁵; and by St. Paul's seeming to represent, from what is recorded by Moses, that GOD raised up Pharaoh on purpose to make him a terrible example of his power and vengeance to the whole world⁶. But, 1. GOD is said in Scripture to do many things, which are permitted by him to come to pass, in the ordinary and common course of things; according to which manner of expression,

⁴ John vii, 17.

⁵ Exod. iv, 21; vii, 3; ix, 12; x, 1, 20, 27; xi, 10, &c.

⁶ Rom. ix, 17.

GOD may be said *to harden Pharaoh's heart*, only because he did not interpose, but suffered him to be carried on by the bent of his own passions to that inflexible obstinacy which proved his ruin. And in this sense, perhaps, we may interpret the words of St. Paul⁷, *therefore hath he mercy, on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth*. GOD had not so much mercy upon Pharaoh as to prevent his being hardened; and therefore in this sense is said to have hardened him. 2. It is plain, that Moses, unto whom GOD used these expressions about Pharaoh, understood them in this sense, from many parts of his behaviour to him; and especially from his earnestly intreating him to be persuaded, and to let the people go. If Moses had known, or thought, that GOD had doomed Pharaoh to unavoidable ruin, what room or opportunity could there be to endeavour to persuade him to avoid it? But that Moses attempted, with all possible application, to make an impression upon Pharaoh for his good, is very evident from the following passage, which if rightly translated would be very clear and expressive. *And Moses said unto Pharaoh, glory over me, when shall I entreat for thee and for thy servants*⁸—? The translating the Hebrew words, *hithpaar gnalai, glory over me*, makes the sense of the place very obscure; the true rendering the words would be, *do me glory or*

⁷ Rom. ix, 18.

⁸ Exod. viii, 9.

honour, i. e. believe me, which will be to my honour in the sight of the people; and the whole of what passed between Pharaoh and Moses at this time, if rightly translated, is to this purpose. 'Then Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and said; intreat the LORD, that he may take away the frogs from me, and I will let the people go, that they may do sacrifice unto the LORD. And Moses said, do me the honour to believe me, when I shall entreat for thee, and for thy servants And Pharaoh said, to-morrow I will. And Moses said, be it according to thy word⁹.' Moses here made a very earnest address to Pharaoh, to induce him to be persuaded to part with the people; which he certainly would not have done, if he had thought that Pharaoh could no ways avoid not being persuaded, but that GOD himself prevented his compliance, on purpose to bring him to ruin. But I might observe, that Moses frequently expresses it, that Pharaoh hardened his own heart', and not that GOD hardened it; so that the two expressions, GOD hardened Pharaoh's heart, and Pharaoh hardened his own heart, are synonymous, and mean the one no more than the other; unless perhaps it may be said, that as it is agreeable to the Hebrew idiom, to call very high hills, *the hills of GOD*², or very flourishing trees, *the trees of the LORD*³, so in the same manner of

⁹ Exod. viii, 8, 9, 10.

¹ Ibid. vii, 13, 22; viii, 15, 19, 32; ix, 7, 34.

² Psalm lxviii, 15.

³ Ibid. civ, 16.

speaking, it might be said, that *the LORD hardened Pharaoh's heart*, to express, that it was exceedingly, and beyond measure obdurate. 3. The expression cited by St. Paul from Moses, *For this cause have I raised thee up, that I might show my power in thee* does not support the sense, which these expositors would put upon it. The Hebrew word, *hegnemadtika*, does not signify, *I have raised thee up*, or brought thee into being; but *I have made thee stand or continue**. The LXX translate the place very justly, *ΕΥΕΚΕΥ ΤΕΤΕ ΔΙΕΤΗΡΗΘΗΣ*. *For this cause thou hast been preserved*⁴. For the words of Moses were not designed to express to Pharaoh, that he was born or created on purpose to be brought to ruin; but the reason for saying the words, and the true meaning of them is this; Moses had wrought several miracles before Pharaoh, but they had had no effect upon him. Hereupon Moses delivered to him a severer message, threatening, that God would send all his plagues upon his heart, and upon his servants, and upon his people, to smite him with pestilence, and to cut him off from the earth; and indeed (continues he, speaking still in the name of God)

* See Remarks upon this passage by the Rev. Walter Sellon, in his Tract entitled, 'General Redemption considered.'—EDIT.

⁴ Most of the versions express the true meaning of this place better than our English translation. Onkelos renders it; *Verum propter hoc sustinui te*. The Arabic expresses it; *Propter rem hanc te reservavi*.

for this cause have I preserved thee hitherto, to show in thee my power; *i. e.* I had cut thee off sooner for thy obstinacy, but that I intended to make my power over thee more conspicuous; so that the words only signify, that Pharaoh was hitherto preserved by the forbearance of God, to be a more remarkable example; not that he was born to be brought to ruin.

Moses, by command from God, went once more to Pharaoh. The king had charged him never to see his face more, upon pain of death⁵; and Moses had purposed to have so much regard to his own safety, as never to attempt it⁶; but upon God's specially commanding him to go, he was not afraid; knowing, that He who sent him could abundantly protect him. Moses now delivered to Pharaoh the severest message he had ever brought him; and represented to him, that at midnight⁷ God would strike dead the first-born of every family throughout all the land of Egypt; and that there should hereupon be such a dread and terror upon all the Egyptians, that they should come to him in the most submissive manner, and beg of him to lead the people out of the land; and after that, said he, I shall go. Pharaoh was in a great rage at Moses speaking thus to him; but

⁵ Exod. x, 28.

⁶ Ver. 29.

⁷ This message was delivered to Pharaoh, after the Israelites had made preparations for eating the passover, some time in the day before they left Egypt.

Moses, not desiring to stay only to incense and provoke him, turned away and left him.

It is surprising, that not only our English, but all the versions, represent Moses to be the person here said to be in a great anger. The vulgar Latin is very faulty; we there find the place rendered, *exivit a Pharaone iratus nimis*. "He went out from Pharaoh too much angry⁸." All the other versions represent him as exceedingly incensed against the king; but how can we suppose this of Moses, who *was very meek, above all the men, which were upon the face of the Earth*? Besides that, it is hard to imagine he should carry himself so void of that regard and respect, which he must think it his duty to pay, in his behaviour to the king of Egypt in his own kingdom. Some of the commentators insinuate, that Moses was thus exceeding angry, and incensed against Pharaoh, because *he was made a god unto Pharaoh*⁹. But

⁸ The critics imagine, that the Latin word *nimis* is synonymous with *valde*; and to signify *very much*, or *exceedingly*; but I think, that where it seems to be thus used, it always implies some excess: thus; *Non nimis me delectarunt litteræ illius*. Cic. His letters delighted me not very much. I would translate it not over much. *Fundam tibi nunc nimis vellem dari*. Ter. I would very fain, that you had a sling. I think it might be translated, I am over-earnest in wishing you a sling, *i. e.* more earnest than I need to be. For it was the flatterer's excess of care that wished the soldier this instrument; and by the word *nimis*, he seems nicely to hint that his valour did not need it. See *Eunuch*. act iv, scene 7.

⁹ *Exod*. vii, 1.

how absurd must it be to imagine, that Moses should receive any character from the Deity, which would justify him in rudeness and misbehaviour to a ruler of a kingdom? Certainly it was not Moses here, but Pharaoh, who was in the passion. Moses undoubtedly delivered his message with all the weight and authority which the divine commission he had received required; and yet at the same time behaved himself with all the regard and respect which was due unto the king; and when he had delivered what he had to say, *Ietzea menim Pharaoh bechari aph.* The words, *bechari aph*, in a fury of anger, belong to Pharaoh, and not to Moses; and the place ought to be translated, *he went out from Pharaoh, who was in a furious anger.*

God had before this instructed Moses and Aaron to direct the people to prepare the pass-over¹, the getting all things ready for which took up near four days; for they were to begin on the tenth² day of the month Abib, and to kill the lamb on the fourteenth day in the even-

¹ The first verse of Chap. xii, does not imply that the LORD spake to Moses about the passover, after he came from Pharaoh, because these directions were given before he went; for he went to Pharaoh the day on which he told him, that at midnight God would slay the first-born, namely, on the fourteenth of the month Abib; but these directions were given before the tenth day; for on that day they began to prepare for the passover. So that the former part of this chapter is an account of some particulars which had passed, but were not related historically in their place.

² Exod. xii, 3.

ing³; and accordingly on the fourteenth of Abib in the night⁴ the Israelites ate the first passover; and at midnight they heard a great cry and confusion amongst the Egyptians; for Pharaoh and his princes, and his people, found that there was one person dead, and that the first-born, without any exception or difference in any one family, in every house of the Egyptians. They came immediately to Moses and Aaron in a great fright and terror, and desired him to get the people together, and take their flocks and their herds, and all that belonged to them, and be gone; *and the Egyptians were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste, for they said, we be all dead men*⁵. Hereupon Moses took the bones of Joseph, which his brethren had sworn to him should be carried with them out of Egypt, and the Israelites began to journey in the morning; and on the morrow after the passover, on the fifteenth day of the month, they travelled from Rameses to Succoth⁶, about ten or twelve miles. Here they made made a stop, reviewed their company, and found that they were six hundred thousand, besides children⁷. In this manner the Israelites were brought out of Egypt; a transaction so wonderful and extraordinary, that the heathen historians could not avoid taking some notice of it. Justin, the epitomizer of Trogus

³ Exod. xii, 6.

⁴ Ver. 7.

⁵ Ver. 33.

⁶ Num. xxxiii, 3.

⁷ Exod. xii, 37.

Pompeius, gives us hints of it, in his account of the History of the Jewish Nation^a. He tells us, that some time after the birth of Moses, “the Egyptians had the leprosy amongst them; that upon consulting their oracle for a cure, they were directed to send away all the infected persons out of the land, under the conduct of Moses. Moses undertook the command of them, and at his leaving Egypt stole away the Egyptian Sacra. The Egyptians pursued them, in order to recover their Sacra, but were compelled by storms to return home again. Moses in seven days passed the Desert of Arabia, and brought the people to Sinai.” This account is indeed short, imperfect, and full of mistakes; but so are the heathen accounts of the Jews and their affairs. If the reader peruses the whole of what Justin says of the Jews, he will see that his account of them is all of a piece, and that he had made no true inquiry into their history. However, after all the mistakes, which either the misrepresentation of the Egyptian writers might cause, or the carelessness and want of examination of other historians occasion, thus much we may conclude from Justin to be on all hands agreed; that the Jews were sent out of Egypt under the conduct of Moses, that the Egyptians might get free from plagues inflicted upon them by the divine hand; and that after they were dismissed the Egyptians pursued them, but

^a Justin. Hist. lib. xxxvi, cap. 2,

were disappointed in their pursuit, not by force of arms, but by obstructions from Providence, in the direction of storms and weather to defeat them. Justin hints so many points, which are so near the truth, in the several parts of the Jewish history, that I imagine, if due pains had been taken to examine, he would have given a truer account of this, and all the other particulars which he has hinted about them and their affairs.

Justin relates, that the Jews at their departure stole the Egyptian Sacra. We say, *they borrowed of the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment*⁹. If they borrowed them, we cannot say that they had any design of returning them again; and therefore the injustice may be thought the same as if they stole them. Some modern writers have taken the greatest liberty of ridiculing this particular, and are pleased in thinking that it affords them a considerable objection against the sacred Scriptures. For they insinuate, with more than ordinary assurance, that no one can, consistently with plain and common honesty, which all men know too well to be deceived in, suppose that GOD ALMIGHTY directed, or ordered the Israelites to borrow in this manner. "The wit of the best poet is not sufficient to reconcile us to the retreat of a Moses, by the assistance of an Egyptian loan;" said Lord Shaftsbury, amongst other things, which he thought might bear hard

⁹ Exod. xii, 35.

against the morality of the sacred history¹. Some very judicious writers have endeavoured to justify the Israelites borrowing of the Egyptians; but I shall not offer any of their arguments, because I cannot find, that the sacred text does in the least hint, that they borrowed, or attempted to borrow any thing of them. The Hebrew word, which our translators have rendered *borrow*, is *shaal*², which does not signify to *borrow*, but to *ask one to give*. It is the very word used Psalm ii, 8. *Sheal-ve ettenah, Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession*. The fact was, God had told Moses, that the Israelites should not go out of Egypt empty; but that every woman should *ask* her neighbour, and the person she lived with, to give her jewels and raiment, and that he would dispose the Egyptians to give them³. Thus, when they were leaving Egypt, the children of Israel asked the Egyptians for *jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment; and the LORD gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians*, so that they gave them what they asked for, so freely as to impoverish themselves by making presents to them. Josephus represents this fact agreeably to the true sense of the sacred text. He says that the Egyptians (δαρσις τε τῆς Εβραίων ἐτιμῶν· οἱ μὲν ὑπερ τὰ ταχίον ἐξέλθειν· οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ γειτνιακὴν πρὸς

¹ Charact. vol. i, p. 358.

² See Exod. iii, 22; xii, 35.

³ Ibid. iii.

αὐτοῖς συνηθίσαν) made the Hebrews considerable presents; and that some did so, in order to induce them to go the sooner away from them; others out of respect to, and upon account of the acquaintance they had had with them⁴.

The exit of the children of Israel out of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years after Abraham's first coming into Canaan. Now Abraham came into Canaan A. M. 2083⁵, so that, counting four hundred and thirty years forward from that year, we shall fix the exit A. M. 2513, in which year it was accomplished. Our English translators have rendered the xiith chapter of Exodus, verse 40, very justly; *now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years*. The interlinear translation of the Hebrew Bible, and the vulgar Latin version, both misrepresent the true sense of the place, by rendering it to this effect; *now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years*. The children of Israel did not live in Egypt four hundred and thirty years; for they came into Egypt with Jacob A. M. 2298⁶, and they went out of Egypt A. M. 2513, so that they lived in Egypt but two hundred and fifteen years; therefore the sojourning of the children of Israel must not be limited to their living in Egypt only, but taken in

⁴ Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 14.

⁵ See vol. i, b. v, p. 252.

See vol. ii, b. vii, p. 185.

a more general sense, and extended to the time of their living in Canaan; for the four hundred and thirty years, here mentioned, begin from Abraham's first coming into Canaan. The Samaritan text has the verse thus, *now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, and their fathers, whereby they inhabited in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years.* The most learned Dean Prideaux observes, "that the additions herein do manifestly mend the text, and make it more clear and intelligible, and add nothing to the Hebrew copy, but what must be understood by the reader to make out the sense thereof;" and therefore, why may we not suppose that the ancient Hebrew text was in this verse the same with the present Samaritan, and that the words, which the Samaritan text now has in this place more than the Hebrew, have been dropped by some transcribers? Josephus fixes the time of the Israelites' departure out of Egypt very exactly. He says, it was four hundred and thirty years after Abraham's coming into Canaan; and two hundred and fifteen years after Jacob's coming into Egypt^a, both which accounts suppose it A. M. 2513, the year above mentioned. If the pastors came into Egypt A. M. 2420, as I have supposed, then the exit of the Israelites will be ninety-three years after the beginning of the reign of Salatis, who was the first of the pastor kings;

^a Prideaux Connect. vol. ii, part i, b. vi, p. 602.

^c Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. ii, c. 15.

and according to Sir John Marsham's table of these kings, Apachnas was king of Egypt at this time.

From the time when the children of Israel were arrived at Succoth, to their getting over the Red Sea into Midian, it does not appear that Moses led them one step by his own conduct or contrivance. They removed from Succoth to Etham, a town near the border of the wilderness of Arabia; from thence they moved back into the mountainous parts of Egypt, on the west side of the Red Sea, and encamped near to Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the Sea. According to Moses's narration of their movements, it was in no-wise left to his conduct where to lead the people. *When Pharaoh had let the people go, GOD led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near, lest they should repent when they saw war, and return to Egypt; but GOD led them about through the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea; and the LORD went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light, to go by day and night. And the LORD spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they turn and encamp before Pihahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over-against Baal-zephon, before it shall ye encamp by the sea*⁹. Our very learned countryman, Sir

⁹ Exod. xiii, 17—22; xiv, 1, 2.

Walter Raleigh, represents the conduct of Moses, in this march of the Israelites, as in some measure the effects of his own prudence and skill in the art of war; and gives some reasons to show how Moses performed, in the several stations of this march, the part of a very able commander. I cannot pretend to judge of the reasons of war suggested by him; but I imagine, that Sir Walter Raleigh's great military skill might lead him to draw an ingenious scheme here for Moses, where we have no reason to think that Moses laid any scheme at all. It is indeed probable, that reason might suggest to Moses, that it could be in no-wise proper to lead his people directly through Philistia to Canaan. His people, though very numerous, were a mixed multitude, not used to, and altogether undisciplined for war; and the Philistines were a strong and valiant people, and could not well be thought willing to suffer six hundred thousand persons to enter their country. Discretion and prudence therefore might suggest to him, that it would be more proper to lead them about by the wilderness of Arabia, and to retire with them to Midian, where he was sure he should be well received by Jethro the ruler there; and there to form them, for what undertakings it might please God to design them. All this may be consistent with the Hebrew expression of God's leading them; who is often said to do several things, by permitting them to be done by the conduct of the persons employed to do

them. But though all this might reasonably be supposed; yet, as I said, the journeying of the Israelites from Succoth to the Red Sea, was evidently conducted by GOD's immediate direction. For, 1. if Moses designed to carry the people to Jethro's country, he had a much nearer way from Etham, through the wilderness of Sinai, than to lead the people into the mountainous and rocky country, on the Egyptian borders of the Red Sea, out of which he could not expect to find any passage into Midian, without coming back to Etham again. 2. As far as I am able to judge, this had been a much safer, as well as a much nearer way. When Pharaoh heard that the people had taken this rout, he immediately concluded, that he could easily destroy them; for he said, *they were entangled in the land*, shut up in the rocky and impassable parts of a wild and uncultivated country¹. I cannot possibly see, why Moses should lead them so much out of their way, and into such a disadvantageous country; but upon the view of the miraculous deliverance, which GOD designed them at the Red Sea. 3. But it is evident, that from Succoth to the Red Sea the Israelites travelled under the especial guidance of Heaven; for the pillar of the cloud, and of fire, which went before them, directed them where to go. Moses had no room left to choose the way; for *the LORD went before them by day in a pillar*

¹ Exod. xiv, 3.

*of a cloud, to lead them in the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light: to go by day and night. He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people*². Moses had only to observe the guidance of this glorious and miraculous direction; and to follow as that led him from Succoth to Etham, to Pihahiroth between Migdol and Baalzephon, and to the sea.

After the Israelites were gone out of Egypt, Pharaoh repented of his having given them leave to depart, especially upon its being remonstrated to him that the people *were fled*³; that they were not gone a few days journey merely to serve the LORD their GOD, but that they designed never to return to him any more. The loss of so many slaves was a very sensible diminution of his grandeur as well as wealth, and the manner in which they were extorted from him, inglorious both to him and his kingdom; and the hearing that Moses had led them into a part of the country, where he thought it would be easy to distress them, made him resolve to follow them, and try if possible to redress his losses, or revenge himself upon them. He therefore immediately summoned together his forces, and with a numerous⁴ army pursued the

² Exod. xiii, 21, 22.

³ Chap. xiv, 5.

⁴ Josephus says, that Pharaoh's army, with which he pursued the Israelites, consisted of six hundred chariots, fifty thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot soldiers. Antiq. lib. ii, c. 15.

Israelites, and overtook them at their encamping near the Red Sea⁵. At the approach of Pharaoh, the Israelites were afraid; they gave over their lives for lost, and were ready to mutiny against Moses for bringing them out of Egypt⁶. But Moses exhorted the people to fear nothing, assuring them, that they should not be exposed to the difficulty of a battle, but that they should *see the salvation of God*; that God would give them a miraculous deliverance, and destroy all the Egyptians who pursued them⁷. It was night when Moses thus spake to them, and soon after he had done speaking, the wonderful appearance of the pillar of fire, and of the cloud, which went before them to direct their journey, removed and placed itself between them and the Egyptians, with its shining or bright side towards the Israelites, and with its dark or cloudy side towards the Egyptians; so that the Israelites had light to be moving forward towards the sea, and the Egyptians not being able so well to see their way, could not follow so fast as to get up with them⁸. When the Israelites were come to the sea, they made a stop for some hours. Moses held up his hand over the sea, and God was pleased, by a mighty wind, to divide the waters, and to make a space of dry ground from one side of the sea to the other, for the Israelites to pass over. Hereupon Moses and

⁵ Exod. xiv.⁶ Ver. 11.⁷ Ver. 13.⁸ Ver. 19, 20.

Aaron led the way⁹, and the Israelites followed them into the midst of the sea; and the waters stood on heaps on each side of them, and were as a wall to them on their right hand, and on their left, all the way they passed. The Egyptians came on after them, and it being night, and they not having the light of the pillar, which guided the Israelites, finding themselves upon dry ground, all the way they pursued, might, perhaps, not at all suspect that they were off the shore; for I imagine, that if they had seen the miraculous heaps of waters on each side the Israelites, they would not so eagerly have ventured still to press after a people saved by so great a miracle. When the Israelites were got safe on the land over the sea, towards morning, *the LORD* looked from the pillar of fire and of the cloud upon the Egyptians, and troubled their host, *and took off their chariot wheels, that they drave them heavily*¹. The Egyptians began

⁹ Some of the Hebrew writers represent, that when Moses had divided the sea, the Jews were afraid to attempt to go over it, but that the head of the tribe of Judah led the way; and that as a reward for the courage of this tribe in this attempt, they were appointed to march foremost in all the future journeyings of the Israelites; but the Psalmist seems to hint that Moses and Aaron went before the Israelites into the sea, Psalm lxxvii; and this fiction about the tribe of Judah has no better foundation than the numerous other fancies of these writers, one of which, relating to this passage over the Red Sea, is wonderfully extravagant. They say, that God, in dividing the waters, made twelve different paths, that each tribe might have a path to itself; but conceits of this sort want no refutation.

¹ Exod. xiv, 25.

to find their passage not so easy; the waters began to come upon them, and their chariot wheels to sink and stick fast in the muddy bottom of the sea, so that they could get no farther, and Moses, at the command of God, stretched forth his hand over the sea. The Egyptians began now at day-break to see where they were, and to fear their ruin; they turned back as fast as they could, and endeavoured to get back to shore; but the waters came upon them in their full strength, and overwhelmed them. Thus Pharaoh and his whole army were lost in the Red Sea.

Some writers have imagined, that there might be no real miracle in this passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. Moses was a great master of all science and learning, and had lived in Midian, a country near the borders of this sea, forty years. He had had time and abilities, whilst he kept the flocks of Jethro in this country, to observe, with great accuracy, the ebb and flow of it. The Red Sea, at its northern end, divides itself into two branches, one of which, namely, that over which Moses led the Israelites, from Toro, where the two arms divide, up to the shore upon the wilderness of Etham, is about thirty leagues, or ninety miles, in length. At Toro this sea is about three leagues, or nine miles, over, and it continues of much about the same breadth for twenty-six leagues, or seventy-eight miles, upwards; from thence for about two leagues it is three miles over, and so it continues up to the land's end, for about six miles, three or

7

four miles over all the way. The adjacent places, Migdol, Pihahiroth, and Baalzephon, direct us whereabouts the Israelites passed over this sea, namely, over this narrow arm, and not above six miles from the land's end; and it may be said, that the flux and reflux of the sea may perhaps cover, and leave dry, every tide, a tract of land, from the place where Moses passed over the Israelites, up to the wilderness of Etham, as the ebb and flow of the sea does all the Wash, on the borders of Lincolnshire in our country; and if so, Moses might easily, by his knowledge of the tides, contrive to lead the people round about among the mountains, so as to bring them to the sea, and pass them over at low water; and the Egyptians, who, pursuing them, came later, might at first enter the wash safely as they did, but at midway, they might find the waters in their flow, loosening the sands, and prevent their going farther. Hereupon they turned back, but it was too late; for the flood came to its height before they could reach the shore. Artapanus in Eusebius² informs us, that the inhabitants of Memphis related this transaction in this manner. And it may, perhaps, be thought that Josephus favoured this account, and therefore compared the passage of the Is-

² Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix, c. 27. Artapanus's words are, *Μεμφίτας μὲν λέγειν, ἐμπειρον ὄντα τὸν Μωϋσιν τῆς χώρας τὴν ἀμπωτὴν τηρησάντα διὰ ξήρας τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ πλεῖθος περαιοῦσαι.*

raelites over the Red Sea, to Alexander's over the sea of Pamphylia³. I have given this cavil all the weight and strength of which it can be capable; let us now see how it may be refuted. And I would observe,

I. That the passage of Alexander the Great over the sea of Pamphylia, bears no manner of resemblance to this of the Israelites over the Red Sea. Alexander was to march from Phaselis, a sea port, to Perga, an inland city of Pamphylia. The country near Phaselis, upon the shore of the Pamphylian sea, was mountainous and rocky, and he could not find a passage for his army without taking a great compass round the mountains, or attempting to go over the strand between the rocks and the sea. Arrian observes, that there was no passing here, unless when the wind blew from the north⁴. A wind from this quarter was so directed as to keep back the tide from flowing so far up the shore as the southern winds would drive it; and therefore Alexander perceiving, just at this juncture, that there was a violent north wind, laid hold of the opportunity, and sent some of his army over the mountains, but went himself with the rest of his forces along the shore. It is evident that there was no miracle, unless we suppose the wind's blowing opportunely for Alex-

³ Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii, c. 16.

⁴ Arrian de Exped. Alex. lib. i.

ander's purpose; a miracle; and Plutarch justly remarks, that Alexander himself thought, there was nothing extraordinary in this his passage⁵; and it was certainly very injudicious in Josephus, to seem to compare this passage to that of the Israelites, when they are not in any one respect like to one another. The Israelites crossed over a sea, where no historian ever mentions any person but they, to have ever found a passage. Alexander only marched upon the shore of the sea of Pamphylia, where the historians, who most magnified the Providence that protected him, do allow that any one may go at any time when the same wind blows, which favoured him. It does not appear from any historian, that the Red Sea ebbs backward as far as where the Israelites passed over, so as to leave a large tract of sand dry in the recess of every tide, six or seven miles in length, and three or four miles over. No one but the Israelites ever travelled over dry land in this place, and therefore, undoubtedly, here is no dry land, unless when God, by an extraordinary miracle, was pleased to make it so. But,

II. If the passage of Moses and the Israelites over the Red Sea, was upon the recess of a tide, then all the particulars in Moses's account of this affair are false. 1. There needed no cloud nor pillar of fire, to direct the journey of the

⁵ Plut. in Alexand. p. 674.

Israelites to the Red Sea; for they were, upon this supposition, conducted thither by the contrivance of Moses, who thought, that by his skill in the flux and reflux of the sea, he could better escape from Pharaoh there, than in any other place. 2. Moses represents, that the waters were divided and stood on heaps on both sides of the Israelites, and were a *wall to them on their right hand and on their left*; but this could not be true, if here was only an ebb or reflux of the tide. For if the tide was driven back by the strongest wind, the water could stand on heaps on one side only, namely, toward the sea; the land side would be entirely drained, the water being driven by the wind down the channel. 3. Moses represents, that GOD caused a strong East wind to blow, in order to divide the waters, and this, indeed, is a proper wind, to have, by GOD ALMIGHTY's direction, such an effect as he ascribes to it; but if a reflux of the tide had been the only thing here caused, an East wind had not been proper to cause it. The Red Sea runs up from the ocean towards the North-west, therefore a North, or North-west wind would have had the only proper direction to have driven back the tide, if that had been what was done in this matter. An East wind blows across this sea, and the effect of it must be to drive the waters partly up to the land's end, and partly down to the ocean, so as to divide the waters, as Moses relates, and not to

cause a great ebb of tide; and the blowing of such a wind as this, with a force sufficient to cause so extraordinary an effect, for the opening the Israelites so unexpected and unheard-of a passage through the midst of a sea, must be looked upon as a miraculous interposition of God's power for their preservation.

III. As to what Artapanus suggests, that the Egyptians, who lived at Memphis, related, that Moses conducted the Israelites over the Red Sea, by his skill in the tides, there is no regard due to this fiction, especially if we consider, that the wise and learned part of the Egyptians rejected it. For the same author testifies⁶, that the priests of

⁶ Euseb. Præp. Evang. ubi sup. The words are: 'Ἡλιουπολιτας δε λεγειν, επικαταδραμειν τον βασιλεα μετα πολλης δυναμews, αμα και τοις καθιρωμενοις ζωοις, δια το την υπαρχιν της Ιεδαιης των Αιγυπτιων χρησαμενας διακομιζειν. τω δε Μωυσφ δειαν φωνην γενεσθαι, παταξαι την θαλασσαν τη ραβδω τον δε Μωυσον ακεσαντα, επιδιγειν τη ραβδω τε υδατος, και ετω το μεν ναμα διασηναι, την δε δυναμιν (some word, perhaps παρασχησαι, seems here to be omitted in the text) δια ξηρας οδε πορευεσθαι· συνεμβαντων δε των Αιγυπτιων και διωκοντων, φησι πυρ αυτοις εκ των εμπροσθεν εκλαμψαι, την δε θαλασσαν παλιν την οδον επικλυσαι· της δε Αιγυπτιας υπο τε τε πυρος, και της πλημμυριδος παντας διαφθαρηναι. This account of the Memphites is remarkably agreeable to that of Moses. It indeed hints, that there were some lightnings, which Moses has not expressly mentioned; but perhaps it may be conjectured from Psalm lxxvii, 16—20, that there were lightnings contributing to the overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, and very probably there were anciently many true relations of this fact, besides that of Moses, from some of which the Memphites might deduce their narration.

Heliopolis related the affair quite otherwise. Their account agrees with that of Moses. The Heliopolitans were always esteemed to be the wisest and most learned of all the Egyptians⁷; and if Moses's authority, or the faithfulness of his narration could be questioned, this agreement of the Heliopolitans with him, would be of far more weight with all reasonable inquirers to confirm his account, than what is suggested from the Memphites can be of to impair its credit.

We have brought the Israelites out of Egypt, over the Red Sea into the Wilderness, the period which I designed for this volume. The reader must observe from the whole of it, that from the creation to this time, GOD had been pleased, in sundry manners, to reveal himself to mankind, in order to plant his true religion in the world; and yet, notwithstanding all that had been done, this religion at this time had well nigh perished from off the face of the Earth. All nations under Heaven, of eminence or figure, were lost to all sense of the true GOD, and were far gone into the errors of idolatry. The Apostle seems to hint, that the defection was caused by their not *liking to retain GOD in their knowledge*⁸. But why should men not like to retain the knowledge of GOD? I can think of no sufficient answer to this question, suitable to the circumstances of these

⁷ Herodotus, lib. ii, c. 3.

⁸ Rom. i, 28.

ages, unless I may offer what follows: God had given exceeding great promises to Abraham and his posterity, that he would *make of him a great nation; make his name great*, and that in him, or in his seed all the families of the Earth should be blessed⁹: that he would give him northward and southward, eastward and westward, all the land, which he then saw in the length and in the breadth of it, from the river Euphrates unto the river of Egypt¹; that he would make him a father of many nations, that he would raise nations from him, and that kings should come out of him². God protected him, wherever he lived, in so signal a manner, that whenever he was in danger of suffering injury, his adversaries were prevented from hurting him³. His son Ishmael was to be made a nation, because he was his seed⁴; nay, twelve princes were to descend from him⁵, and the seed of Abraham was to possess the gate of his enemies⁶. Most of these promises were repeated to Isaac⁷, and afterwards to Jacob⁸; and the remarkable favours designed for this family were not bestowed upon them in private, so as to be little known to the world; but *when they were*

⁹ Gen. xii, 3.

¹ Chap. xiii, 14, 15, 16, 17; and xv, 18.

² Chap. xvii, 4, 5, 6.

³ Chap. xx, 3.

⁴ Chap. xxi, 13.

⁵ Chap. xvii, 20.

⁶ Chap. xxii, 17.

⁷ Chap. xxvi, 4, and 24.

⁸ Chap. xxviii, 13, 14, 15.

*but few, even a few, and strangers in the land where they sojourned, they went from nation to nation, and from one kingdom to another people, and GOD suffered no man to do them wrong, but reproved even kings for their sakes*⁹. The name of Abraham was eminently famous in most nations of the then inhabited world; and I cannot but think it probable, that the kings of many countries might greatly mistake the design of God toward him and his descendants, as the Jews themselves afterwards did, when they came to have a nearer expectation of their Messiah, and imagined that he was to be a mighty temporal prince to subdue all their enemies. In this manner the early kings might misinterpret the promises to Abraham, and think that in time his descendants were to cover the face of the earth, and to be the governors of all nations. I cannot say, whether the Hittites might not, in some measure, be of this opinion, when they styled Abraham (*Nesi Elohim*¹), Βασιλεὺς παρὰ Θεοῦ, say the LXX, *i. e. a prince from or appointed by God*; and, perhaps, Abimelech might apprehend that Abraham's posterity would in time become the possessors of his country; and being willing to put off the evil for at least three generations, he made a league with him, and obtained a promise, that he would not afflict his people, during

⁹ Psalm cv, 12, 13, 14.

¹ Gen. xxiii, 6.

his time, nor in the days of his son, or his son's son². Thus the promises, and the prophecies to Abraham and his children, might be thought to run contrary to the views and interests of the kings and heads of nations; and they might therefore think it good policy to divert their people from attending too much to them. And for this end; they being in their kingdoms the chief directors in religion, they might, upon the foundation of literature, and human science, form such schemes of augury, astrology, vaticination, omens, prodigies, and enchantments, as the magicians of Egypt became famous for, in order to make religion more subservient to their interests; and in these they proceeded from one step to another, in what they undoubtedly thought to be the result of rational inquiry; until, in Moses's time, the rulers of the Egyptian nation, who were then the most learned body in the world, *beguiled by the deceit of vain philosophy*, and too politically engaged to attend duly to any arguments which might convince them of their errors, were arrived at so intrepid an infidelity, that the greatest miracles had no effect upon them. I am sensible that these points have been set in a different light by some writers; but perhaps there may be reason to re-examine them. The Pagan divinations, arts of prophecy, and all their sorceries and

² Gen. xxi, 23.

enchantments, as well as their idolatry and worship of false gods, were founded, not upon superstition, but upon learning and philosophical study; not upon too great a belief of, and adherence to, revelation, but upon a pretended knowledge of the powers of nature. Their great and learned men erred in these points, not for want of free-thinking, such as they called it; but their opinions upon these subjects were in direct opposition to the true revelations, which had been made to the world, and might be called the deism of these ages; for such certainly was the religion of the governing and learned part of the heathen world in these times. The unlearned populace, indeed, in all kingdoms, adhered, as they thought, to revelation; but they were imposed upon, and received the political institutions of their rulers, invented by the assistance of art and learning, instead of the dictates of true revelation. In this manner I could account for the beginning of the heathen idolatries in many nations. They took their first rise from the governors of kingdoms having too great a dependance upon human learning; and entertaining a conceit, that what they thought to be the religion, which nature dictated, would free them from some imaginary subjections, which they apprehended revealed religion was calculated to bring them under. Length of time, advance of science falsely so called, and political views, had carried on these errors to a great height; when

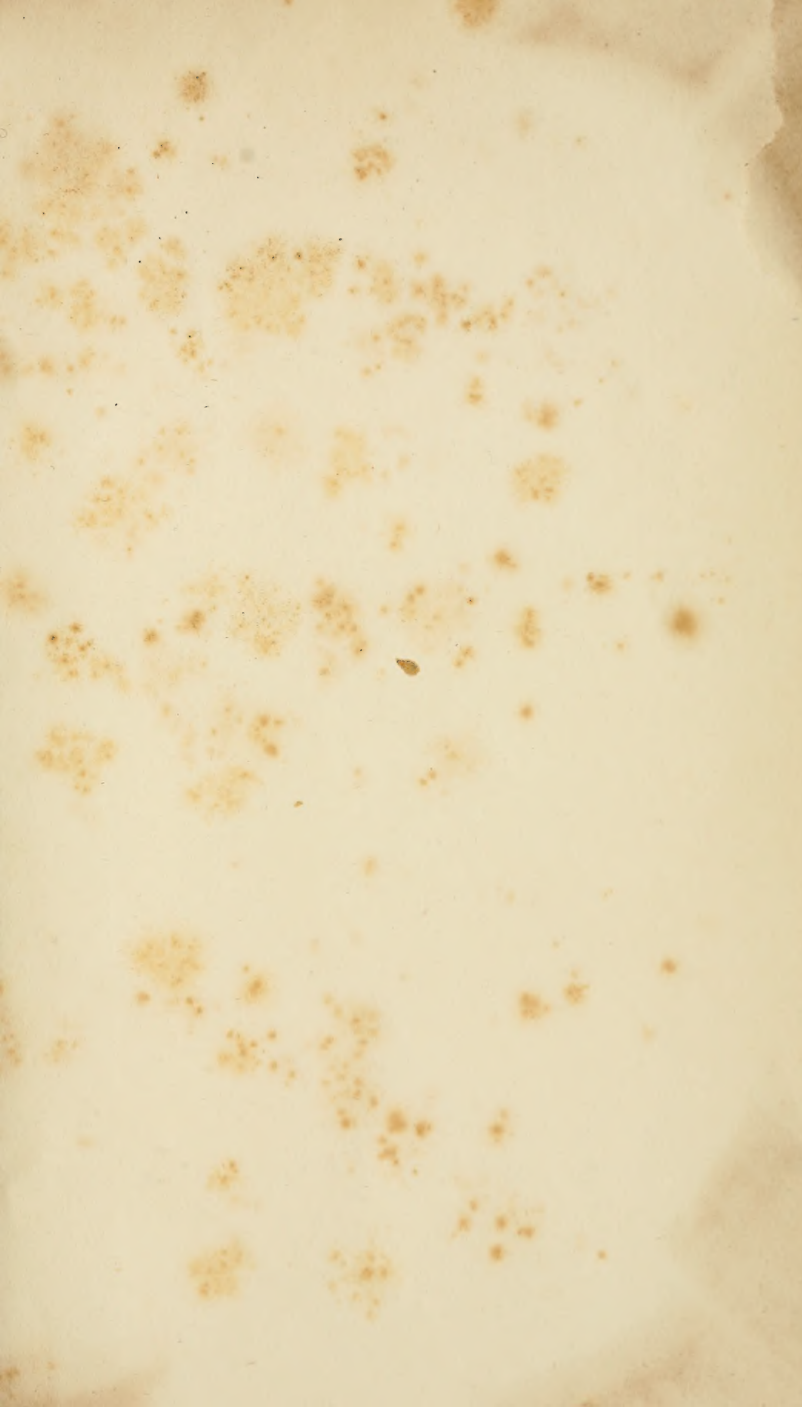
GOD was pleased in a most miraculous manner to deliver his people from the Egyptian bondage; to re-establish true religion among them, and to put the priesthood into different hands, from those who had hitherto been appointed to exercise the offices of it. But the pursuing these subjects, must belong to the subsequent parts of this undertaking.

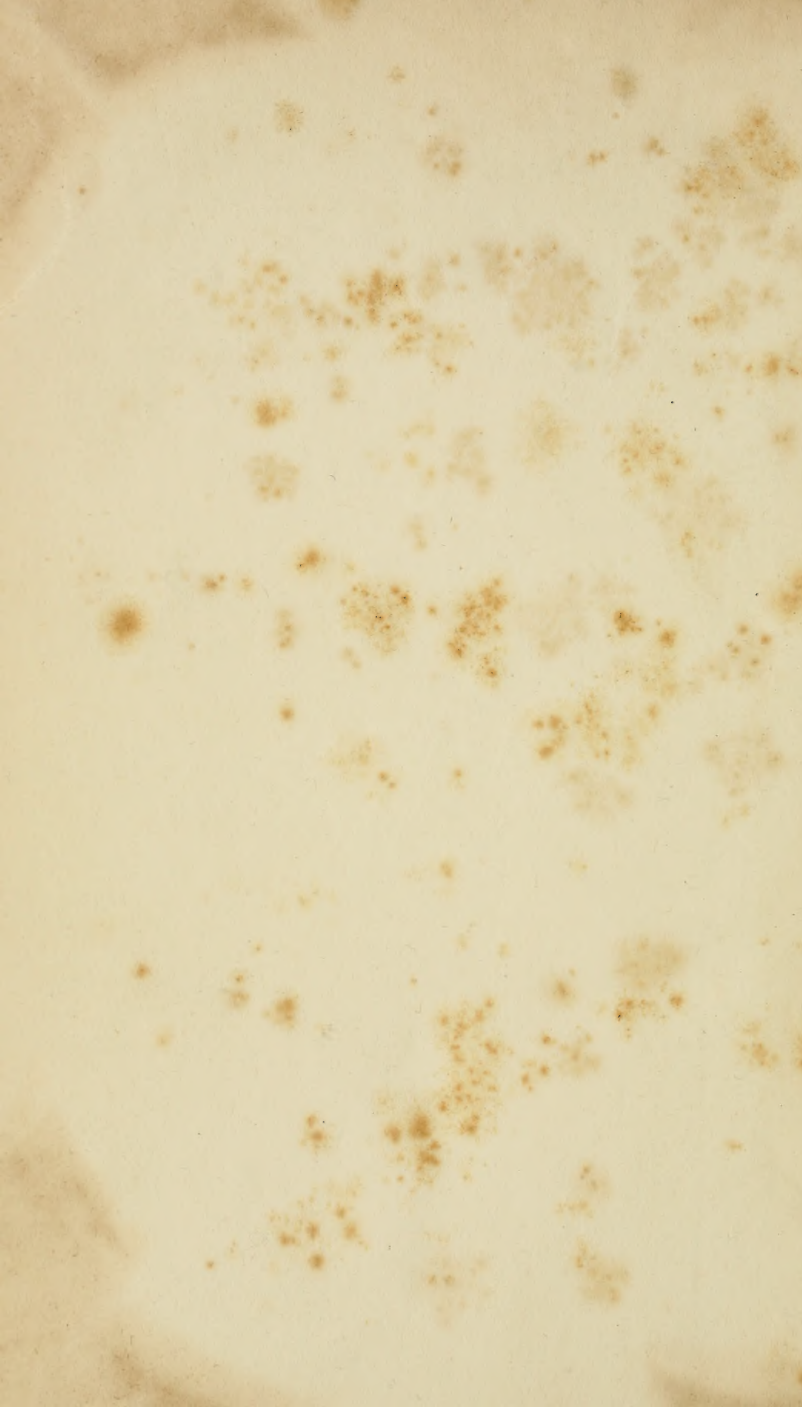
END OF VOL. II.

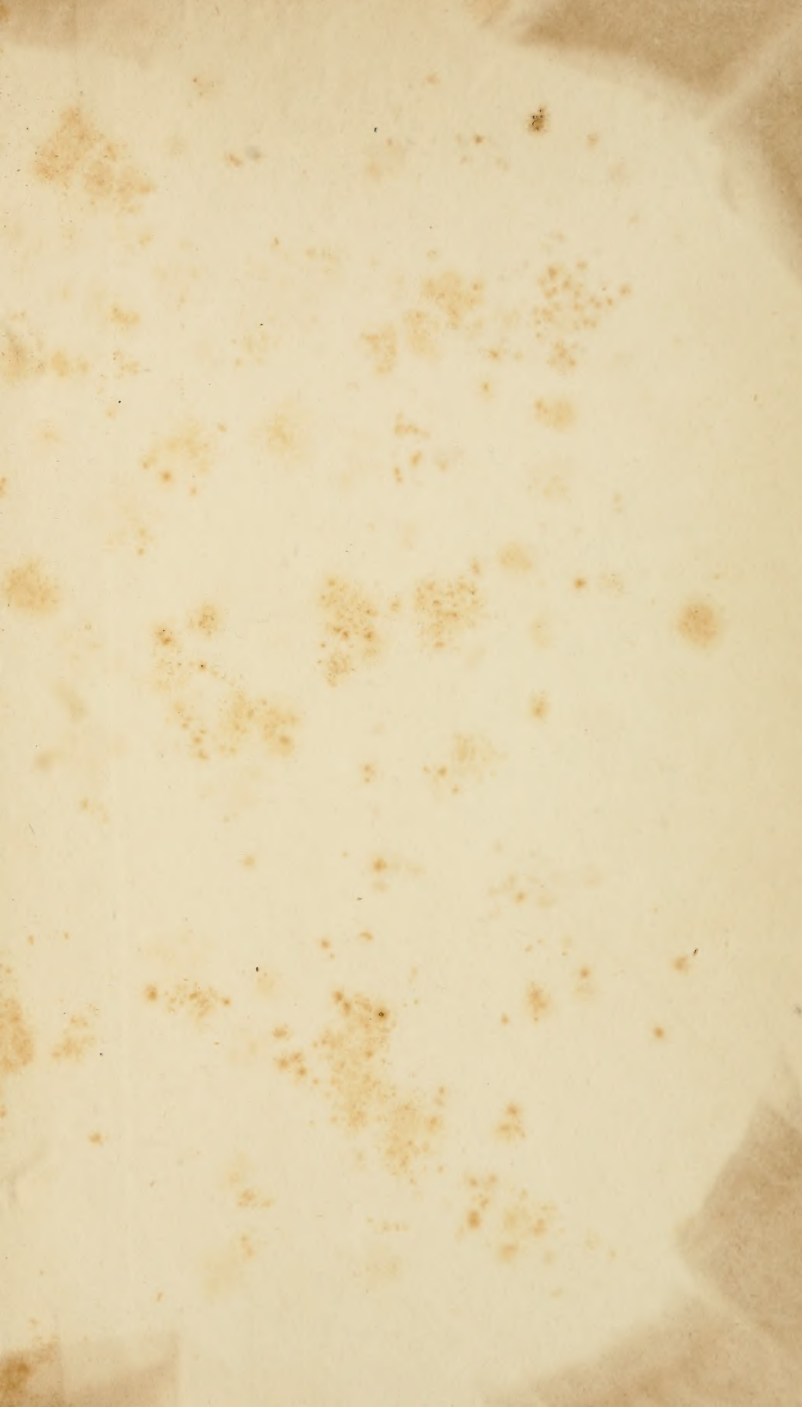
CHARLES WOOD, Printer,
Poppin's Court, Fleet Street, London.





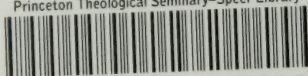






BS1197.1 .S56 1819 v.2
The sacred and profane history of the

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00050 3302